PERFORMING HISTORY

BACH PIANISM IN BRITAIN, 1920–35

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for a degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. This thesis does not exceed the prescribed word limit set by the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Music.

Abstract

Performing History: Bach Pianism in Britain, 1920–35

Pierre Riley

The canonical repertoire of Western art music – and, by association, the pantheon of its progenitors – exists both as history and in the living, sounding present. It undergoes reinvention and renegotiation through performance and related activities, prompting reflection on how to account for its multi-faceted ontology. This study applies an array of methodologies to the task of describing and contextualising performance acts with the aim of gaining a more nuanced understanding of one repertoire in one historical time and place.

The early decades of the twentieth century were a time of sustained interest in Bach's music in British musical culture. That interest was manifested with exceptional intensity in the performing, editing, and recording of his keyboard works by pianists. Such a range of phenomena, along with attendant discourses, reveals a historically and culturally situated portrait of the composer as he was understood in Britain between 1920 and 1935.

The research questions underlying this enquiry fall into two categories: those related to Bach, and those related to the interaction of performance and history. (1) How did the events of the decades preceding the 1920s shape the way in which Bach and his keyboard works were perceived in Britain? (2) How, by whom, when and where were Bach's keyboard works performed live, recorded, edited, discussed, taught etc. in Britain during the 1920s and 1930s? Then, (3) How does this range of activity form a more broadly conceived historical narrative? (4) How does the historical context enrich our understanding of the performances themselves?

Although it attends to performances and, more generally, to the concerns of the performer, this study is not limited to describing historically situated practices. It seeks more nuanced perspectives on issues such as wider patterns of Bach reception in the twentieth century; how canonical repertoires come to be understood, appreciated, and performed across borders and through time; and finally, how history may be written on the basis of performance events.

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Note on the Text

Unless otherwise specified in the caption or a footnote, musical quotations and examples in this dissertation are made to reflect the early twentieth century's understanding of Bach's text and follow the two scholarly editions that defined it at the time: the Bach Gesellschaft's edition and Hans Bischoff's complete edition of the keyboard works (see under 'Scores' in the Bibliography). Every effort has been made to indicate cases where the two diverge.

The now familiar *Bach Werke Verzeichnis* catalogue did not exist yet, but, privileging the avoidance of ambiguity over historical usage, I give BWV catalogue numbers editorially.

Where spellings or designations are idiosyncratic in the original sources, e.g. non-standard German usage in nineteenth-century sources, they are given unaltered.

Finally, many German-born figures who lived in Britain, such as Edward Dannreuther or Charles Frederick Horn, were often better known under the anglicised form of their names (as opposed to 'Eduard' or 'Karl Friedrich'). These are therefore employed here.

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Introduction

The performers known as 'classical musicians' tend to be the products – or the survivors – of years of rigorous training. In any case, they are assumed to possess a suitably vast experience of their craft. Surely, common wisdom would tell us, when they do something, they have a good reason. If ever there was a performer who never wondered why we do things the way we do, he or she probably had the good sense to pretend otherwise. I have certainly never met one. Careers, reputations – often lifetimes of work – are staked on the assumption that we all grapple with the questions: How do I get it right? What is 'it'? What is 'right'?

These questions form a mostly unspoken underpinning to the practice and training of classical music performers. While they may be familiar to performers, many such unspoken underpinnings have only recently come under increasing scrutiny in scholarly discourse. For example, in *Musicians in the Making: Pathways to Creative Performance,* which forms the first volume of the Oxford University Press's recent series *Studies in Musical Performance as Creative Practice,* we are informed that:

> The verbal discourse of classical music quite routinely raises three issues peculiar to, or at least highly characteristic of, this genre. The first involves a concern to divine from a printed score and then to do justice to (or 'respect') 'the composer's intentions'... Secondly, concern about the propriety of the overt intrusion of 'ego' in performance and interpretation is especially acute in classical music... Finally, using the score rather than other media or oral tradition as the primary repository of truth is also particularly characteristic of classical music.[1]

But this final point is not – or at least has not always been – so clear-cut. The classical music performer is caught between opposing forces here. Not only is there the writ of a notionally permanent score and a composer whose intentions are assumed to be knowable and unchanging, but there is also a sense of performing traditions, fed by discourse about lineages, that looms large over the training performer's mental landscape. Dorottya Fabian notes:

> It was maintained that modern-day performances of [post eighteenth-century] repertoires represented an unbroken tradition. Renowned composers and performers of the nineteenth century would hand down their understanding of stylistic requirements to their pupils in conservatoires or private studios, who in

1. Hunter & Broad 2017: 255–6.

> turn passed this tradition on to the next generation, in a continuous flow. Subsequent generations constantly interpreted the opinions and insights of past masters – composers, performers and teachers – while holding them to be gospel.[2]

At its best, the apostolic succession of pupils and masters can be a heartening sentimental link to history, allowing one to feel a part of it.[3] In other circumstances it can be a stifling straitjacket. Mary Hunter and Stephen Broad observe how 'school' and 'tradition' are nevertheless relegated to a secondary role in relation to the score's authority:

> Recordings, live performances by other artists, and the lore of teachers and other authority figures – the oral traditions of this genre – are often described as important, even indispensable. However, despite (or, some would say, because of) its relative paucity of detailed information about performance, the score is felt to be the ultimate arbiter of interpretative limits in ways that are unique to this genre.[4]

But another reason for discomfort about this kind of orally transmitted knowledge is that the evidence supplied by recordings is often confusing or plainly offensive to present-day standards of taste and musicianship. For example, writing about Adelina Patti's recording of 'Voi che sapete' from Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro*, Bruce Haynes observes that she 'became rich and famous for singing like this, but today she would be laughed off the stage'.[5] The changes of the last century – more or less the time-frame documented by archival recordings – are perhaps most conspicuous in the case of singers, but the musical and aesthetic breaks of gauge are by no means unique to them. The evidence of archival recordings raises disturbing questions about how a shared and selective amnesia affects

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2. Fabian 2015: 25.
3. The author's first 'serious' teacher, Robin Harrison, was fond of quoting his own teachers, Carlo Zecchi, Harold Craxton, and Ilona Kabos, most of whom had different lineages stretching back to Franz Liszt and Carl Reinecke through the likes of Artur Schnabel, Theodor Leschetizky, Árpád Szendy, and Ferruccio Busoni. Claims about lineage – as though teachers could pass on something unchanging to their pupils – are to be regarded with scepticism, but they can undoubtedly have sentimental appeal. Harrison enlivened lessons with extensive illustrations given from the piano, examples from his collection of records, and picturesque accounts of memorable encounters, such as his lessons with an elderly Alfred Cortot in the late 1950s. In this way, his teaching seemed to open a window into the musical past. The unique pleasure and curiosity aroused by the opportunity to peer through this window indirectly form the genesis of this research project.
4. Hunter & Broad 2017: 257.
5. Haynes 2007: 34. It is perhaps not a foregone conclusion that Patti would be laughed off the stage today, given the increasingly pluralist outlook of twenty-first-century musicians and audiences. This is perhaps most true of musicologists. That being said, the author suspects that ridicule may in fact be the kindest possible reaction to Patti from a 'mainstream' classical music listener or conservatoire-trained performer today.

classical musicians: we play the music of the past, we often claim adherence to past sources of authority – whether in the case of scores or pedagogical lineages – and yet, when faced with recordings from as recently as a few decades ago, we blush, we dissemble, we cannot quite believe that we are in fact hearing the performances of people who were once hailed as 'great musicians'. This unusual relationship to the past is the problem that I am indirectly setting out to examine in this history of pianism in the early twentieth century.

Why Study the Performances of the Past?

There are many reasons that have motivated inquiries into the performance habits of the past. One obvious avenue is to approach past performance practice with the view of recreating it. In the twentieth century, the most prominent and commercially successful manifestation of this was the advent of historically informed performance. Fabian describes how the earliest interest in the how the past *sounded* 'was largely limited to investigating historical performing practices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries or earlier periods of western literate culture.'[6] It was carried out mainly with the goal of 'more faithfully' reconstructing the instruments, techniques, and stylistic conventions of those centuries, resulting in ostensibly 'more authentic' performances. But more recently, this set of methodologies for studying musical performance and the accompanying assumptions about the value of historical verisimilitude have been applied to the music of later composers – precisely the repertoire that Fabian had identified above[7] as the purview of the mainstream 'unbroken tradition'. Investigation of the nineteenth-century performance styles heard on the earliest extant recordings and piano rolls gave impetus to a new generation of historically informed performers who use them to explore novel possibilities in nineteenth- and twentieth-century repertoires. Neil Peres Da Costa opines that 'through this process the work can be viewed from new or different perspectives, amplifying the choices available in its realization.'[8]

Attention has also been devoted to early performance style in the name of developing a more complete and nuanced history of music-making in the twentieth

6. Fabian 2015: 25.
7. See note 2.
8. Peres Da Costa 2012: xxv.

century. Central to these histories is a distinction between three general approaches to music: romantic, modernist, and historically informed.

According to this paradigm, the late nineteenth-century 'romantic' style – though by no means a uniform category[9] – was characterised in terms of its artistic freedom and expressive maximalism, although the specific devices with which to achieve it differ from instrument to instrument.[10] It has been described through recordings and theorised extensively since the 1990s. The aesthetic underpinnings of this style are further discussed by Milsom and Peres Da Costa with reference to codes of expression from singing and oratory.[11] For Richard Taruskin, romantic performance's concern for representation, for music's ability to 'sound the way moods feel', formed an intrinsic part of the performance practice. He identifies certain characteristic parameters: 'Romantic music – and Romantic performance practice – are more richly endowed than any other with crescendos and diminuendos, accelerandos and ritardandos, not to mention rubato and a highly variegated timbral palette'.[12] Added to this is a spirit of improvisation and freedom with the composer's text. Fabian refers to 'an agreement that musicians recording prior to the 1930s or 1940s sound freer, more ad hoc and often extreme in their gestures and liberties with rhythm, tempo, dynamics, and timbre compared with the performances of subsequent generations'.[13] To this should be added 'an un-notated practice of dislocating melody from accompaniment [that] was an important practical means of expressive (even emotive) delivery for pianists.'[14] In the case of Bach, romantic performance practice is most often discussed with reference to the vocal or orchestral works, where questions of vibrato and portamento (both for singers and for string players), or that of ensemble size can highlight deep differences. Haynes mentions Willem Mengelberg's 1939 recording of the *St Matthew Passion* as an exemplar of this performance style:

> We immediately notice the rhythmic freedom and concern for expression. And … the lack of precision will catch our attention. But at its best, Romantic style is awe-inspiring… This is the plush, opulent, symphonic sound we associate with Brahms and Mahler; so much so that at times it is difficult for modern ears to hear it as Bach. All in all, Mengelberg's is an approach to Bach that ignores what

9. See Leech-Wilkinson 2009a.
10. See Milsom & Peres Da Costa 2014, where piano and violin are dealt with separately.
11. Milsom & Peres Da Costa 2014: 82–83.
12. Taruskin 1995: 109.
13. Fabian 2014: 59.
14. Milsom & Peres Da Costa 2014: 88.

> is known of how he himself played, and turns him into a contemporary of Wagner. This is, of course, exactly what it intended to do.[15]

Recordings in the twentieth century seem to illustrate a long-term trend: a turn towards a cooler expressive palette and, generally, a more detached, less outwardly emotive approach to expressivity. For Fabian, 'the most common explanation identifies the demands of the recording industry for precision and repeatability as the primary cause for this development. Additional arguments link the phenomenon to broader cultural trends, such as modernism or profound changes in the psyche of post-war Europeans'.[16] Robert Hill writes that

> the central issues separating modernist and the pre-modernist experience of musical performance lie in two attitudes over which late-romantics and modernists of three generations ago were irreconcilable: assumptions about the nature of musical time and the acceptable extent of interpretative prerogative in the rendition of classical works.[17]

Performances became more streamlined, rhythmically uniform, and generally more closely adherent to the letter of the text. This was theorised by Hill as the outer manifestations of a shift towards a more self-effacing concept of performance, performers being at this time 'conditioned by musicologists and critics to aspire to ideally objective readings of musical texts'.[18] Haynes observed that 'the traits that distinguish Modern style appear to us to be almost all negative compared with Romantic style — essentially restrictions: unyielding tempo, literal reading of dotting and other rhythmic details, and dissonances left unstressed.'[19]

In this dissertation, I propose that these established categories – romantic, modernist, and eventually HIP – useful though they may be in some circumstances, be set aside, at least temporarily. The following constitutes a slightly different engagement with the available sources: rather than describe performance style narratively according to such a broad scheme, it explores various facets of a performance culture inductively and additively. Rather than deriving a synthesising narrative or recommending particular performance approaches for emulation, the study aims to disrupt what Fabian called the 'normative

15. Haynes 2007: 35.
16. Fabian 2014: 59.
17. Hill 1994: 42.
18. ibid.: 38, 43–44.
19. Haynes 2007: 49.

thinking regarding how Beethoven, or Bach, or any other composer's music "should go""[20] that has entered the instincts of present-day musicians. This normative thinking is by no means limited to the coercion of competition juries, audition panels, and critics, as Taruskin observes:

> Our intuitions are not the fine, free, feral things that we may think they are. They are thoroughly domesticated beasts, trained to run along narrow paths by long years of unconscious conditioning... If you are a trained musician, what you will find if you scratch your intuition will be the unexamined mainstream, your most ingrained responses, treacherously masquerading as imagination.[21]

The point is that normative assumptions continue to bedevil the training of performers, and examining not only recordings, but the cultural contexts from which they emerge offers the possibility of exploring options more freely. The exercise also affords some avenues through which the modern 'mainstream' performer may have a saner, less dissimulating relationship to the past.

Why Bach? Why Britain? Why 1920–35?

Bach's unique position in the musical canon makes his music a particularly suitable repertoire through which to interrogate and rethink the classical musician's fascination with the past. He is a historical composer *par excellence.* When measured against the enduring and transformative influence that his music exerted on composers and performers throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – during which he stood as a towering, totemic figure of western music, second only to Beethoven as the prototypical genius creator[22] – the events of the composer's lifetime and indeed the man himself can all easily be discarded as interesting, but ultimately irrelevant afterthoughts. Bach was born in the nineteenth century, some seven decades or so after his own death. In this sense, he has always been a historical composer. And yet, he has always been of the present-day: he has a way of crystallising anxieties about tradition unlike any other musician in the Pantheon, as will be seen later on in this dissertation.

The interwar period is of great interest as the basis of a case study on Bach. Not only is it identified as the time when the principles of modernist performance began to take hold in the wake of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (new objectivity) in Germany and similar

20. Fabian 2015: 7
21. Taruskin 1995: 78.
22. See under 'Urvater der Harmonie' in Hinrichsen 1999.

artistic movements elsewhere,[23] or when the broadcasting and recording industries began to flourish throughout the developed world, it was a time when wider consensus about musical norms was breaking down. Peter Burkholder mentions this with reference to composition:

> In no other period have composers used such a variety of musical languages and techniques, creating music which differs so radically from the music of their contemporaries. In no other period have individual composers changed their own styles so radically and so often, sometimes transforming their musical language almost completely from one work to the next. In no other period has art music been so divorced from other traditions. In no other period has so much music by so many talented composers been so hated, so ignored, so little played or understood. In no other period has it seemed so impossible to locate a mainstream, a central line of development or a common conceptual tradition, which can provide a framework for understanding the contributions of individual composers.[24]

It should be remembered that Burkholder's focus on the production of compositions does not tell the full story. The précis above on performance style in the twentieth century would indicate that performances of canonical repertoires were suffering more from convergence than atomised fragmentation – an assumption which will be revisited in later chapters – but the atmosphere of uncertainty and change that Burkholder describes makes this period exceptionally interesting as a timeframe for reviewing changes, or pluralities, in performance approaches.

The 1920s also marked the beginning of a Bach discography in the catalogues of His Master's Voice and Columbia, then dominant market players. I place the later cutoff at 1935 for two reasons. One is that the year was the 250th anniversary of Bach's birth, which was widely celebrated. The second is that Bach recordings from after this time are somewhat better documented and better remembered.[25] These include Edwin Fischer's *Well-Tempered Clavier* recording, Wanda Landowska's *Goldberg Variations*, and Yehudi Menuhin's sonatas and partitas for solo violin.[26] All remained in circulation for decades and were reissued in numerous formats. However, the pioneering recordings of Bach, mostly made in Britain during the 1920s and early 1930s, are well worth attention despite

23. Hill 1994.

24. Burkholder 1983 : 115.

25. See, for example, Brookshire 2016 on Edwin Fischer.

26. More context about what recordings were available and circulated is provided in Chapter 5. See also Appendix 3 for a more complete listing of early recording milestones.

having received comparatively little of it, either in scholarly sources or in more popular literature.

The fact that many of the earliest important Bach recordings were made in Britain and most often by British performers is not the only reason for focusing the study in this way. The musical culture of Britain also presents unique possibilities for the kind of investigation that I am undertaking, bringing together various historical techniques with the examination of recordings and performances. As is discussed in Chapter 2, the reception of Bach in Britain was especially conditioned by an ideological conception of Bach that placed him outside of time and place as a universal artist – a tendency that would be exacerbated by the experience of the First World War. Chapter 5 also shows how Britain had a particularly dynamic and inventive recording industry at the dawn of the gramophone age. Moreover, Britain was an early hotbed of discussion, popular appreciation, and criticism about records – an array of specialised discourses that makes this time and place, delimited as I have proposed, fertile ground for investigations on history, performance, and recordings within musical culture.

Finally, this study considers primarily the performances of pianists. Musicians in Britain had long cultivated an interest in 'ancient instruments',[27] and in the twentieth century, the efforts of figures such as Arnold Dolmetsch gave the harpsichord and clavichord considerable prominence.[28] Other pioneering harpsichordists such as Violet Gordon-Woodhouse, a former pupil of Dolmetsch, were prolific in the recording studio during the very early days of the industry.[29] Any suggestion that the piano had a monopoly over the performance or recording of Bach's 'Klavier' works is clearly not tenable, even as early as the 1920s. But I choose to devote attention to Bach performance on the piano because of the unique tensions between past and present – articulated above – that pianists experience even today when approaching this repertoire.[30]

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27. See Holman 2020.

28. See Haskell 1995.

29. See Appendix 3 and Figure 5.1 in Chapter 5.

30. Harpsichordists and clavichordists undoubtedly experience tensions between past and present, but I would argue that these tensions are often qualitatively different. For example, the early twentieth-century harpsichords made by Pleyel and most famously played by Landowska illustrate an inventive willingness to update and tinker rather than merely reconstruct (I cannot be certain that Gordon-Woodhouse also recorded on a Pleyel, but the instruments in her recordings bear a strong auditory resemblance to those played by Landowska). Exploring the compromises made by such early historically informed

This dissertation begins by interrogating the intellectual underpinning of music history. An already extensive tradition of scholarship has set out to question the most rigid aspects of a historiography based on a pantheon of great composers, a score-based, quasi-literary understanding of music, and its normative assumptions. These challenges have come from many directions, reflecting a range of concerns. Chapter 1 aims to situate the rest of the dissertation in the context of this body of scholarship and to propose ways forward for enriching these perspectives through an investigation of performers and performances. Like the rest of the thesis, the chapter draws both on the sociological insights emerging from studies of reception and on philosophical and ontological arguments surrounding the work concept. After summarising the assumptions that go into past and present thinking on canonical repertoire, along with relevant challenges to this state of affairs, it articulates how a study of performances and performers stands to enrich knowledge about composers such as Bach whose works have been the object of renewed and changing interest through time and across borders. On the basis that the study of history from a performance perspective is complementary to a study of performance from a historical perspective, the goal of clarifying aspects of Bach through Bach performance is compatible with that of developing a more fine-grained sense of where performances come from by situating them in this more nuanced historical perspective.

The rest of the dissertation pursues a series of inquiries about Bach with the inductive approach alluded to above: How was Bach understood? How were Bach's keyboard works performed by pianists? What relationships can be advanced between these two? There are broadly four categories of investigation, each of which comes from a general concern – the wider context of Bach reception in Britain in the case of Chapter 2, interwar-era concert culture in Chapter 3, editorial practices in Chapter 4, and finally, gramophone recordings in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 – and each concentrically strives towards a certain idea of Bach performance.

Chapter 2 turns to the decades preceding the interwar period and retraces the dissemination and performance of Bach's works in Britain. Its aims are twofold. Firstly, the chapter situates Bach performance in a history of practices; secondly, it explores

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performers is rich enough and different enough a subject matter to warrant that they be treated in a completely different study. That being said, the historiographical approaches developed in this dissertation certainly stand to enrich and guide such an investigation.

relationships between reception and performance. I consider the changing role played by Bach's music in institutional contexts: in choral societies, popular concert series, the incipient musicological curricula of British universities, in the examination syllabuses of conservatoires. I retrace the features of a growing interest on the part of both elite and amateur music-makers as well as in academia. This historical moment allows one to interrogate the ambiguities of Bach reception in the United Kingdom: one may test the possibility that as a result of these developments, Bach was perceived as universal, or neutral, in character and how this may have come about. The chapter therefore aims to define and clarify perceptions of Bach's music – not least in terms of its aesthetic autonomy in relation to the issue national identity.

One of the new contributions proposed by this dissertation relates to the Percy Scholes Fonds, housed at the Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. This cache of drafts, press-clippings, correspondence, concert programmes, and photographs once belonged to music critic and author Percy Scholes. The material has received little attention from scholars of early twentieth-century British musical culture, but informs many aspects of this dissertation, especially Chapters 2 to 5.

The general discussions of historiography and reception undertaken in Chapters 1 and 2 are followed by a group of interlocking case studies that examine aspects of Bach in the living, performed reality in Britain between 1920 and 1935. The multiperspectival approach of the thesis is reflected in the composition of the following chapters, each exploring a different facet of this historically situated Bach.

Chapter 3 focuses on concert culture. The London-born pianist Harold Samuel attracted considerable attention in the interwar years for performing marathon recital series featuring Bach. These events, often referred to as 'Bach weeks', began in 1921 and were repeated regularly in London and New York, culminating in Bach's 250th anniversary in 1935. I gather critical responses as well as documentary artefacts such as concert programmes to trace the history of this brief but widely publicised engagement with this repertoire. Numerous journalistic accounts on both sides of the Atlantic noted the exclusive presentation of works for harpsichord and clavichord without transcription, i.e. what present-day listeners would recognise as the 'keyboard works', at a time when virtuoso transcriptions still formed the backbone of the pianist's Bach repertoire as well as the focus of audience expectation.

A reasonable question to ask next concerns the editions that were available to performers. Chapter 4 turns to editorial practice and its reciprocal relationship with performance. In 1924, the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music released an instructive edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* that for decades would be a defining and authoritative text. It provides an example of Bach's insertion into institutional and pedagogical frameworks. Donald Francis Tovey edited the text and provided explanatory notes for each Prelude and Fugue, while Harold Samuel devised the fingerings. In Britain, a tradition of analytical and historical judgement encountered the practicalities of performing a text and rendering it intelligible. In this chapter, I explore the traces of Tovey's decision-making, especially insofar as it draws attention to overlaps between the editor's prerogative and the performer's.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 are devoted to the many phenomena related to the gramophone record. The analysis of early Bach recordings provides an opportunity to make direct observations on performances in search of a more finely grained understanding of Bach performance styles.

Chapter 5 situates Bach in the early era of gramophone culture. This entails the description and discussion of a variety of practices, discourses, and materials related to the development of the record industry. Among these, I explore record criticism, more general commentaries about the merits or shortcomings of recorded music, iconography in advertising, and listening practices of the record-buying public as described in the reports of gramophone clubs.

Chapter 6 takes some of the criteria uncovered in the previous chapter to discuss or evaluate Bach performance – broad-brush judgements in the press such as expressive and restrained, or romantic and modern, etc. – and seeks answers in the sound recordings of the past. To this end, I juxtapose seven different recordings of the same Prelude, that in C-sharp major from the first book of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*. While many important studies have documented expressive devices such as octave doublings, wide fluctuations of tempo, and melody-based phrasing in nineteenth-century repertoire, I propose a *sui generi*s approach to Bach recordings. These, as will be seen, carry their own unique challenges, such as the new ways of highlighting formal, contrapuntal, and expressive features that pianists explored.

Chapter 7 uses the model adumbrated in Chapter 6 to examine in greater detail the recordings of three British pianists whose Bach performances were widely discussed and recognised: Harriet Cohen, Evlyn Howard-Jones, and Harold Samuel.

The final chapter considers the insights gained from this work and proposes a more broadly conceived assessment of its usefulness – to performers, to performance studies scholarship, and to the wider community of music research. As is seen throughout the thesis, the approach espoused is avowedly composite and calls upon a variety of perspectives, but what this achieves is more than just a sum of parts. The diversity and interconnectedness of the materials and techniques serve two overarching purposes, which go beyond the scope of each investigation undertaken separately in Chapters 2 to 7. These preoccupations pertain to two different *kinds* of knowledge that can be acquired through research.

Firstly, this dissertation sets out to write history and, in doing so, to reflect upon the writing of history. The extensive investigation of different 'vantage points' adds crucial detail to a historically situated portrait of Bach in a given time and place. The need for this kind of historiography has recently been debated with increasing urgency, as is seen in Chapter 1. The search for a more nuanced and less score-fixated history – embracing performers, editors, commentators, and audiences – need not be limited to Bach. This particular history is thus an example of an open-ended approach that stands to enrich other histories.

Secondly, this dissertation is the work of a performer endeavouring to better understand performance in the round, not simply a given group of performances. It is one thing to submit recordings to the fine-grained scrutiny of software, as in a number of recent quantitative studies;[31] it is another to ask oneself how performances emerge from and, in turn, shape a wider cultural context. The straightforwardly historical aspects of the dissertation feed into a broader sense of how Bach was experienced in early twentieth-century Britain, but this way of connecting historical investigation to issues of performance can inform research on other topics – by asking the questions: 'What did they think about the music?', 'What works caught their attention?', 'What editions did they

31. See for example Llorens 2018. Such studies, happily, have yielded useful tools and valuable insights. They are successful at what they set out to do. It cannot be seen as disparagement if one adopts *some* of their quantitative methodologies without necessarily adhering to a quantitative agenda – choosing instead to apply those tools to a historical project such as the one outlined in this introduction.

use?', 'How did they conceive of them?', and 'Why might they have performed the way they did?'. These questions may be asked about countless agents in music history and in relation to almost any repertoire. Most importantly, however, the mass of evidence gathered here invites one to react to it as a musician. Nicholas Cook wrote that

> the value of studying the stylistic features of what Hamilton calls the 'golden age' of pianism does not lie so much in rehabilitating specific stylistic practices. It lies in recapturing the pluralism that was so prominent a feature of nineteenth-century musical culture.[32]

Our encounters with the past are numerous and multi-faceted, whether we come to it as curious performers or as musicologists. In effect, the following amounts to a practice-based engagement with music history. As John Rink states:

> It should be obvious that writing history … is not merely a matter of assembling and ordering facts as conventionally understood. But even to claim that history is about interpreting facts would be inadequate. Just as performers in the Western tradition do far more than interpret musical notation, the creative practice of historiography … requires an awareness of the 'endless chain of agency' referred to by Taruskin, which is to say an engagement with individual agents' 'statements and actions' among other things.[33]

As is discussed at the end with the benefit of hindsight, the act of turning one's attention to past performers, what they thought, and how they approached music can be inherently transformative because such an activity opens up possibilities. It invites us to question our own 'unexamined mainstream', whether or not we then choose to emulate our musical forebearers.

32. Cook 2013: 401.

33. Rink 2020b: 119–20.

1. Performance and Pluralism in History

As we use our tools, we constantly remake them.[1]

Confronted with new facts, new approaches, and changing concerns, the perceived sets of relationships that make up a history are subject to continuous revision and reinvention. Writing a new kind of history from the vantage point of the performer therefore demands lucid investigation not only of methodologies, but of unexamined assumptions. The quasi-evolutionary narratives depicting change as progress, the attribution of disparate phenomena to reductive, unifying features, whether the spirit of the nation or the spirit of the age, and most importantly, a commitment to unchanging and transcendent musical works that performers are duty-bound to restore faithfully – all these shape our understanding of music in ways that are not always openly acknowledged.

Where do these beliefs come from, exactly, and how to we move past them? I begin by assessing the wider philosophical contexts from which they emerge. Then, I account for scholarship that proposes revised models for understanding music and its past. All of this serves as a springboard for the rest of the thesis, especially as regards the plurality of materials that are dealt with and the variety of perspectives that are called upon in Chapters 2 to 8.

Although names such as Hegel or Plato, for example, are indirectly invoked in many instances throughout this chapter, I make no claim to be engaging substantively with the philosophical edifices that they established. My interest is captured first and foremost by what art historians and musicologists have written about the philosophical and aesthetic principles that underlie our discipline, and what importance this all has for the way in which we conceive of music and its history. I am reacting as a performer and musicologist – dare I say, as a musician – to the many thought-provoking ways in which these ideas have filtered into musical culture. To this end, certain key points are reviewed for the benefit of the widest possible readership of musicians. In this respect, this chapter is a microcosm of the principle it is putting forward: I recount here a personal attempt to

1. Randel 1992: 20.

grapple with ostensibly arcane issues that turn out to have real, practical consequences in and for musical life.

The Hegelian Legacy

The influence that Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's writings exerted on the study of history cannot be overstated. They seeded an intellectual tradition far too vast to comprehensively assess in this chapter. However, certain conventions and beliefs about historiography that emerged from this tradition and which, from this point on in the chapter, are labelled as 'Hegelian', merit scrutiny because of the defining role they played in shaping ideas about music history. Two aspects of the Hegelian legacy are scrutinised here: a commitment to the inevitability of progress, and recourse to interpretations based on the 'spirit of the age'. Both tendencies will be resisted robustly throughout this dissertation for reasons explored in the following paragraphs. It should not be forgotten how strong the temptation is, when writing any kind of cultural history, to resort to Hegelian explanations. These need not be repudiated altogether, but require self-awareness and caution.

Progress

The idea of progress often underlies attempts to give narrative form to histories of art, but as Jacques Bos observed, the Enlightenment's utopian rationalism gave this bias particular force:

> The notions of progress and modernity played a crucial role in the historiography of the Enlightenment, especially in its French and Scottish versions. Authors such as Voltaire, Turgot and Ferguson described the historical process as a continuous increase of rationality and knowledge, culminating in the Enlightened culture of their own days.[2]

In a pair of essays that are quoted from at length in this chapter, Ernst Gombrich offered a wide-ranging but perceptive assessment of how the Hegelian system – rooted as it was in beliefs about the logical concatenation of progressively more sophisticated forms of human culture, technology, and civilization – was applied to the history of art:

> The whole system of the arts is here turned into a temporal hierarchy, beginning with architecture, the most 'material' of the arts, first appearing in the huge lumps of the pyramids, progressing to sculpture, which of course finds its apogee

2. Bos 2012: 137.

> in Greece, and then to the even more spiritual, dematerialized medium of painting which, in Hegel's view, corresponds to the Christian Age of Faith. But painting, in its turn, tends increasingly towards the less tangible art of music, which must yield its place to poetry as even closer to pure thought.[3]

The sequence of progressively more refined art-forms was to continue all the way to abstract philosophy. There can be no doubt that history requires a narrative form of some sort, lest it become a disjointed series of ostensible facts or interpretations thereof. But this narrative form is not a naturally occurring phenomenon that we, as writers of history, have *a priori* at our disposal. And while some narratives might be compelling, others conceal more than they illuminate. John Butt identifies one such master-narrative in which the increasingly precise notation of music tacitly represents a continuous form of progress:

> The medieval period was the time when first pitch and later rhythm were notated; in the Renaissance complex tempo relationships were established; in the Baroque, details of expression, tempo, dynamics, ornamentation and articulation were added to the notation; in the Classical period diminuendos and crescendos came to be notated and all expressive directions were notated in greater detail and in greater precision; and, with Beethoven, tempo itself could be established with the aid of metronome marks. The same 'story' can be continued to encompass the specification of many other musical and extra-musical factors in performance by Wagner, to Stravinsky's belief that the performer need do nothing more than read the notated instructions, to the serialisation of dynamic and attack by Messiaen, Babbitt and Boulez, and, finally, to tape music and its successors, in which both performer and notation are subsumed by the medium of data storage.[4]

At first glance, this carefully curated sequence, describing a gradual development of an ever more sophisticated use of notation may possess a veneer of plausibility. However, it can mislead the reader, as Butt takes pains to point out, adding that 'like all grand narratives, it often serves a purpose that is by no means innocent and universally valid'.[5] Indeed, he uses this example to show how, by equating the music with its notation, it effaces the performer and a myriad of un-notated musical practices as well as social practices from which more nuanced insight may be gleaned. Here, an ostensible 'common-sense' narrative, which accommodates most of the facts – though these may be chosen selectively – nevertheless does violence to deeper realities. It imposes on the past

3. Gombrich (1967) 1979: 33.
4. Butt 2002: 98.
5. Ibid.: 102.

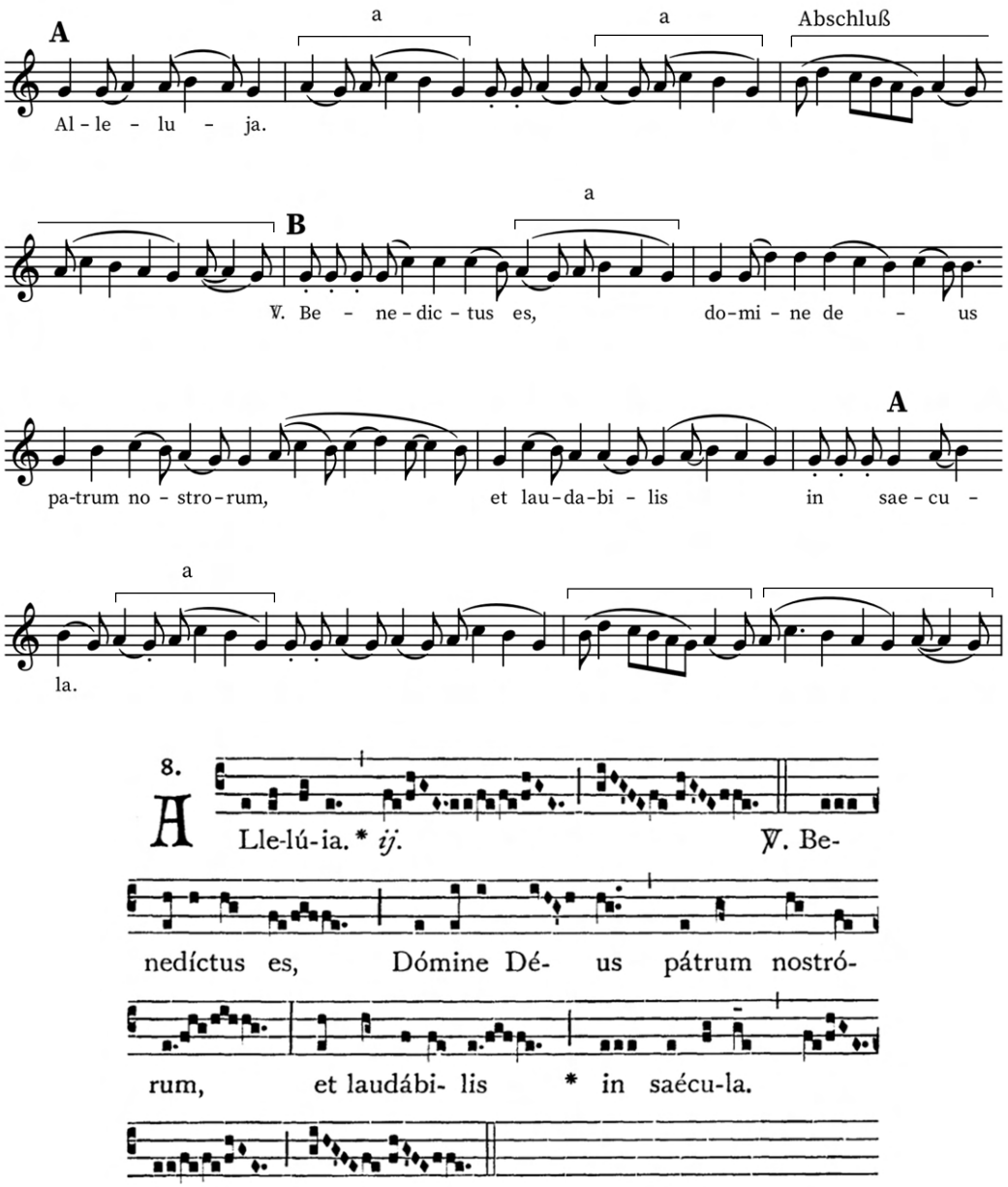
an understanding of the relationship between notation and performance which is anachronistic and deprives the historian of potentially valuable knowledge.

The dangers of such a teleological perception of the past are alluded to by Leo Treitler with reference to attempts to present Gregorian chant as the wellspring of European music.[6] Anton Webern supplied an eloquent case study of these dangers in his 1932–33 lecture series 'The Path to New Music'. Examining the Gregorian Alleluia shown in Example 1.1, Webern identifies an A section that is repeated at the end, and observes that within these sections there is further repetition of shorter cells of musical material. The annotations identify a formal close of some kind at the end of both A sections, although the text does not explicitly discuss these markings. This is all overshadowed, however, by a bold and surprising claim: for Webern, 'the whole structure of the large symphonic forms is expressed in exactly the same way as in Beethoven's symphonies'.[7] As Butt suggested above, such meticulously organised historical and stylistic narratives are seldom disinterested. Webern continues by stating that 'we can make the leap into our time: our twelve-tone composition is based on the fact that a certain sequence of the twelve tones always comes back.'[8] The analogy between a recurring melodic cell in a chant and the recurrence of the tone row in the dodecaphonic idiom is tenuous, but what is really at stake is not whether the classical sonata form can be derived from twelfth-century chant, but whether the latter can be said to be the sonata's distant ancestor. If this Alleluia even dimly or inchoately prefigures Beethoven, then Beethoven can prefigure the Second Viennese School.

6. Treitler 1993: 29–34. The closely related project of defining it in opposition to 'Oriental' music was also far from disinterested.

7. 'Es ist da schon der ganze Bau der großen symphonischen Formen genau so ausgedrückt wie in den Symphonien Beethovens.' Webern (1932–33) 1960: 23–24; my translation.

8. 'Können wir den Sprung in unsere Zeit machen: Unsere Zwölftonkomposition beruht darauf, daß ein gewisser Ablauf der zwölf Töne immer wiederkommt.' Ibid.; my translation.



Example 1.1. Alleluia for Trinity Sunday
Above: Webern's typesetting and analysis[9]
Below: square notation[10]

9. Webern (1932–33) 1960: 24. 'Abschluß' in the first line translates here to 'close' or 'conclusion'. Webern's text does not state what sources were used or whether the transcription into modern notation is his own.

10. N.A. 1961: 911. Although this printing of the *Liber Usualis* dates from after Webern's death, several details prompt me to think that this example conforms roughly to his reading: the text setting is the same, as is the repetition on 'Benedictus' and 'in saecula' notated in Webern's example.

Example 1.1 also gives a practical illustration of Butt's point about notation. It is worth reflecting on the work that is done by Webern's unproblematised application of transcription into modern notation and formal analysis. This musical artefact may well *lend itself* to such transcription, but those methodological tools are not the only ones available. This is why I have appended, for comparison, the chant as it appears in square notation, which is much less explicit about metrical realisation. In a way, Webern's transcription, by giving it the appearance of a musical work in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century sense, invites comparison to later repertoires *on the terms of those later repertoires* before the analysis has even begun, countenancing an analytical treatment that assumes that it may be subjected to the same techniques as a recent composition. In the square notation, the attention is much more concentrated on the way a syllable is drawn out in a melisma than on the melismas *qua* melodic development. The idea of placing a recapitulation on 'saecula' flies in the face of the text setting, revealing awkward discontinuities between the 'musical' analysis of Webern and the document as it appeared in liturgical chant books.

Several lessons may be learnt from this example that prompt caution when undertaking the investigations that follow later in the dissertation. One of the chief concerns is not to approach early twentieth-century performances as immature versions of later ones: many traits commonly identified with 'modernist' performance style in Performance Studies literature will be encountered and further discussed, but this study is at pains to present them as emerging from a multi-faceted context of past and contemporaneous musical culture rather than as starting points in a teleology.

Another lesson is methodological in scope. Just as transcription into Western notation offered Webern indubitable practical advantages in terms of making the material intelligible to a musical layman, today's graphical representations of sound recordings using software such as Sonic Visualiser render important nuances intuitively comprehensible. Chapters 6 and 7 do not shun the benefits of computer-assisted analysis but take care to construct the analyses in parallel with an awareness of these performances as culturally embedded practices rather than as texts.

Viewing the matter more broadly, another persistent – though not always explicit – assumption accompanying musical performance is that with more time, more information, and more research, performances become better: we can condescendingly

exonerate Adelina Patti[11] *because she didn't know all the things that we know now.* We might smile at the hubris of Enlightenment thinkers,[12] but the musical mainstream of the present day is not immune to such self-regarding outbreaks of utopianism.

Zeitgeist

A Hegelian reading of history does more than concatenate events in narratives – narratives, which, as seen above, are far from innocent or natural: it also has the effect of flattening out the present by reducing the multifarious phenomena of a given society to the outward manifestations of the *Volksgeist,* or 'spirit of the people', or *Zeitgeist,* 'spirit of the age'. Gombrich illustrates this by first quoting from and then commenting on Hegel's lectures on the philosophy of history:

> World history represents … the evolution of the awareness of the spirit of its own freedom… Every step, being different from every other one, has its own determined and peculiar principle. In history such a principle becomes the determination of the spirit – a peculiar national spirit (*ein besonderer Volksgeist*). It is here that it expresses concretely all the aspects of its consciousness and will, its total reality; it is this that imparts a common stamp to its religion, its political institutions, its social ethics, its legal system, its customs but also to its science, its art and its technical skills. These particular individual qualities must be understood as deriving from that general peculiarity, the particular principle of a nation. Conversely it is from the factual details present in history that the general character of this peculiarity has to be derived.[13]

Gombrich proposes, as a useful heuristic, the diagrammatic representation shown in Figure 1.1, according to which the Hegelian cultural historian will find the various manifestations of human culture in a given time and place, and will be able to work towards the essential quality of that culture or people. Gombrich elaborates:

> These manifestations, which are visible on the periphery of my wheel, must all be understood in their individual character as the realisations of the *Volksgeist*. they all point to a common centre. In other words, from whichever part of the outside of the wheel you start moving inwards in search of their essence, you must ultimately come to the same central point. If you do not, if the science of the people appears to you to manifest a different principle from that manifested in its legal system, you must have lost your way somewhere.[14]

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11. See Introduction, note 5.
12. See note 2 in this chapter.
13. Hegel 1928: 101–2. Presumably Gombrich's translation.
14. Ibid.: 31.

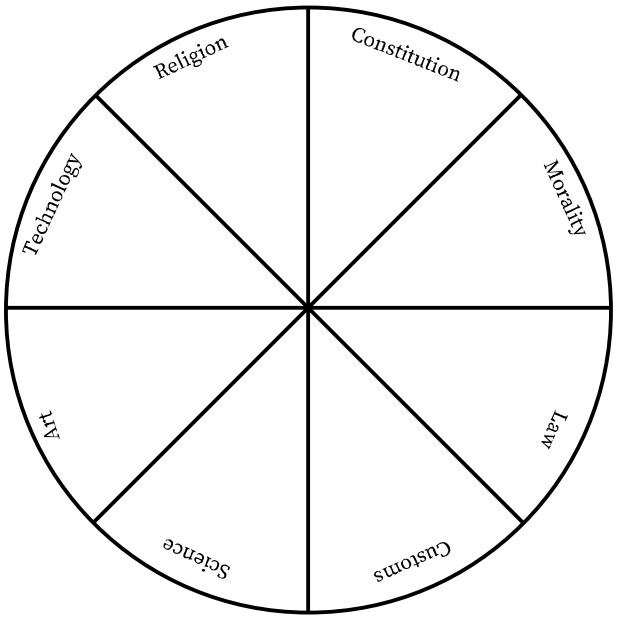

Figure 1.1. Gombrich's diagrammatic representation of a Hegelian approach to cultural history[15]

Although identified with Hegel and prefigured by other Enlightenment intellectual thinkers, this essentialism has appeared in many guises, and continues to maintain a strong grasp on the way in which the history of the arts is written. In 'The Logic of Vanity Fair', Gombrich identifies as Hegelian a descriptive strategy that will be recognisable to any reader of history: '[The Hegelian] wants to identify Gothic elegance with courtly aristocracy and the realist reaction with the hardheaded middle class. He is sure that the frivolity of the Rococo expressed the decadence of the doomed aristocracy and the severity of Neoclassicism the ideals of the classes which triumphed in the French Revolution.'[16]

Several attempts have been made to salvage this system of thought from its explicitly metaphysical entanglements, among which Gombrich cites Karl Marx. Such solutions nevertheless suffer from similar shortcomings: although the 'spirit of the age' and other speculative hocus-pocus may appear to have been swept aside by the practicality of materialist explanatory mechanisms, Gombrich notes how little one would need to change Figure 1.1 in order to make it illustrate a Marxist understanding of history.

15. Gombrich (1967) 1979: 31.
16. Gombrich (1965) 1979: 76.

One would simply need to replace the 'spirit' with economic power relationships and understand the circle as another way to represent the base–superstructure model.[17]

Carl Dahlhaus expressed bewilderment about the resort to the 'spirit of the age' in publications that bear the influence of the Hegelian tradition. He invokes as an example Donald Jay Grout's influential textbook, *A History of Western Music*, in which musical compositions are juxtaposed with contemporaneous literary and political events. He notes:

> The year 1843 is represented by *The Flying Dutchman*, Donizetti's *Don Pasquale* and Kierkegaard's *Fear and Trembling*, 1845 by *Les préludes*, *Tannhäuser* and Dumas' *Count of Monte Cristo*, 1852 by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, 1853 by *La traviata* and the Crimean War. However, it is unclear exactly what the reader is meant to conclude. Is there a subtle analogy between Wagner's opera and Kierkegaard's book? Or on the contrary, might it be that events which are extrinsically contemporaneous are, intrinsically, anything but contemporaneous, a conclusion made grotesquely and abundantly clear precisely when we use chronological tables in an attempt to illustrate the Zeitgeist that supposedly pervades all spheres of life at a given time?'[18]

The possibilities for playing this game are virtually limitless. Ultimately Dahlhaus is critiquing a form of writing history that fails to address explicitly the consequences of such temporal juxtapositions.

Understanding cultural phenomena as they emerge from a wider context is essential to a detailed understanding of a work of art. However, just like the grand narrative can hide more than it reveals, so too can an interpretation based on the 'spirit of the time' or 'spirit of the nation' mislead the historian. This is why this dissertation does not set out to define a set of features that would neatly define a 'British' or characteristically '1920s-era' Bach pianism, nor does it shy away from drawing connections between the broader cultural context and observations from performances. The model proposed in this dissertation for making those connections therefore aims to remain as descriptive as possible while at the same time gesturing towards useful and intuitive categories that make sense of the evidence.

17. Gombrich (1967) 1979: 42–3.

18. Dahlhaus (1977) 1983: 19.

The Platonist Legacy

The consequences of Platonism have received comparatively closer scrutiny in musicological circles and are likely to be more familiar to a musical layman. The chief among these is the persistent habit in Western Art Music of prioritising works – most often conceived of as abstract, perfect forms – at the expense of performances.

Nicholas Cook describes how the longstanding bias in Western music towards notated scores at the expense of performances and practices comes from an understanding of works as ideal forms that are only imperfectly realised in performance.[19] For Cook, this bespeaks a Platonist understanding of the world. For Taruskin, this phenomenon bore the label of the 'internalist model' of musical works.[20] Meanwhile, the resulting effacement of the performer appears as a pressing concern in Leech-Wilkinson's writing.[21] The risks of relying uncritically on the platonic ideology are indeed widely described: for Butt, 'we should be wary of treating notation as it has so often come to be regarded in the late twentieth century – namely, as a transparent recipe for performance, one that is indeed almost interchangeable with performance itself.'[22]

Taking this particular understanding of the musical work as a starting point, a host of concomitant effects have been identified and critiqued. If scores not only transparently record performances but somehow encode the composer's intent, performers are duty-bound to convey those. The conflation of music-making with composition and the fixation on composers intentions are decried by Taruskin as the poietic fallacy.[23] From this attitude of unquestioning reverence for what is assumed to be the will of composers, elevated to the status of demigods,[24] comes a quasi-literary appreciation of a canon of great works. Cook summarises the status quo ante in three points that highlight the interconnectedness of the pure Platonist conception of the musical work, the presumed intentions of the composer, and the resulting attitude of canonism:

> The first is that the identification of musical substance with what can be notated – from which it follows that anything attributable only to the performer is insubstantial – is an assumption built deeply into discourses that surround WAM:

19. See Chapter 1, 'Plato's Curse', in Cook 2013.
20. Taruskin 2010: xix. Taruskin's italics.
21. Leech-Wilkinson 2009b: 1.1¶3.
22. Butt 2002: 106.
23. Taruskin 2004.
24. See Leech-Wilkinson 2009b: 1.1¶3.

> it might be described as ideological, in the sense that it presents itself not as an assumption at all but just as the way things are… The second point emerges from Schoenberg's identification of notational relationships with 'the true product of the mind'. Just as in his telepathic fantasy, music is assumed to be something in people's heads. Once again perpetuating the platonic tradition, social dimensions are eliminated from the understanding of music. It is on the one hand an abstract structure optimally represented in notation, and on the other a paradigmatically subjective experience, transcending its physical surroundings… The third, and most obvious, point is the denigration of performers that emerges as much from the tone as the substance of Schoenberg's and Adorno's discussions of the desirability of replacing them by machines.[25]

It is important to note how the Platonist understanding of musical works as transcending their material and historical surroundings and the notion of the composer as a quasi-oracular authority went hand in hand with the idea of canonism: the celebration of a certain group of composers as 'geniuses' and of a certain group of works as 'masterpieces'. This framework oriented many of the early developments of musicology. According to Cvejić:

> Owing to its interest in the biographies of 'great composers', which it adopted from general historiography's interest in 'great men', the historiography of music has erected a pantheon of masters, using as its foundation the remains of those 'peripheral ones who were not admitted into the core canon… In this way, the historicist conception of history as an amorally teleological narrative has served more often than not to uphold thinly veiled chauvinist prejudices. On a still larger scale, it has also legitimised the euro-centrism from which our discipline has not yet fully recovered."[26]

A preoccupation with great composers and great works guided the early toolkit of musicology. Randel notes that 'Much of the energy of musicology has gone into identifying, fixing, preserving, and studying "the work itself." And, of course, our belief in such a thing as "the work itself" is what makes possible the creation of the list of such things that make up the canon.' In other words, the Hegelian historiography and Platonist ontology aided the erection of such musical monuments. Randel adds that this prioritisation misses the parallel and important oral tradition that helps performers make sense of scores.[27] This view is echoed in Botstein's assessment:

> In the history of music since the mid-eighteenth century, the continued dominance in the narrative of musical culture by 'great' music and leading figures – composers whose works remain in the repertory of contemporary concert life – has conspired to block a fuller understanding of the history of

25. Cook 2013: 17.

26. Cvejić 2019: 21–22.

27. Randel 1992: 12.

> musical life and its place and significance in culture and society. The history of reception and so-called canon formation does little more than document the process of aesthetic selection over time and verify the erosion of memory.[28]

The methodological bent of musicology toward Platonist and Hegelian interpretations is of course not the only cause that has buttressed the musical canon. The phenomenon of the recital or the symphony concert could portray creators as disparate as Bach, Palestrina, Mozart, and Schumann as peers, all of them facing 'the common problem of creating musical works of lasting value using similar materials of harmony, melody and motive, and similar technical procedures of counterpoint, elaboration, combination, change, and articulation.'[29]

It should be added that similar habits and discourses in twentieth-century musical culture tend to exert a similar pressure. Botstein notes that:

> The contribution made by recording was first to create a canon of accessible recordings sufficient to define standards of taste and supplant the use of printed music and also to legitimate the idea that a work of music, in order to merit recording and therefore live performance as a consequence, had to achieve the elusive and limited status as a 'masterpiece'. In the mid-twentieth century, owing to recording, new or unfamiliar historic works were judged, by genre, against a few exemplary works (e.g., a Beethoven symphony or a Puccini opera).[30]

For a large part of musicology's history, then, music history meant a history of works, a history that unfolded in a gradual trajectory of progress – in notation, in compositional technique, and overall in sophistication. These grand narratives hinder a lucid and pluralist history of musical practices that have always surrounded and supported the objects that we identify as works.

Challenges and Reforms

The need to account for the past in a more localised manner has long been felt in musicology[31] and in the wider disciplinary contexts of art history and history. As Hamilton notes, some of the challenges to grand narratives of progress came during the Enlightenment itself from thinkers such as Johann Gottfried von Herder. Hamilton describes the tradition of historicism that followed Herder as a tendency to place things in

28. Botstein 2011: 524.
29. Burkholder 1983: 119.
30. Botstein 2011: 535.
31. This is discussed below with particular reference to Cook 2013, Taruskin 1995, Goehr 1995, and Butt 2002.

their historical context and to engage with sources hermeneutically: 'Historicists claim to have gained more knowledge from the text's meaning because their acquaintance with the new meanings it had for subsequent historical periods'.[32] Another challenge came from the nascent discipline of linguistics and its study of texts. The requirement of approaching features of language according to the usage and habits of a historically specified period prompted a wider interest in approaching the past according to its own specificities. Bos argues that

> Texts were seen as the products of specific periods, characterized by specific modes of writing. Seen from a philological perspective, the past was not primarily an unproblematic source of moral and political examples, as in the rhetorical tradition, but rather a terrain that differed from the present in important ways and that could only be accessed through meticulous critical work.[33]

As noted by Bos, 'Herder polemically rejects the idea that history is a trajectory of progress to be measured against a universal standard of rationality. In his opinion, each historical period can only be judged in its own terms.'[34] Gombrich furthermore critiqued the Hegelian view, which 'demands that everything must be treated not only as connected to everything else, but as a symptom of something else.'[35]

As recounted by Fulcher, this move away from Hegelian systems for understanding history was manifested more recently in music scholarship: 'Beginning in the 1980s innovative historians and musicologists thus sought to approach culture as a "text" to be deciphered – as neither a simple reflection of an economic substructure, as in older Marxist interpretations, nor an element of an encompassing idealist "Zeitgeist."'[36] Revised approaches and a more pluralistic conception of what materials fall under the purview of music research allowed scholars to bring attention to the many blind spots that had until then been neglected, as argued by Botstein:

> The sustained popularity and subsequent disappearance from the opera repertory of much of the French nineteenth-century repertoire, beginning with works by Auber and Meyerbeer and ending with those by Reyer, Magnard, Chabrier, and other French Wagnerians, represents just one example of how aesthetic judgment and the understanding and writing of history may have been at cross-purposes… In surveys of publishers' catalogues and advertisements in

32. Hamilton 1996: 3.
33. Bos 2012: 135.
34. Ibid.: 139.
35. Gombrich (1967) 1979: 46.
36. Fulcher 2011: 5.

> popular music journals, particularly before 1914, one encounters well-regarded but now unfamiliar composers and works within concert genres and amateur domestic music whose role in the formation of taste and definition of musical literacy has yet to be explored.[37]

There were, of course, reactions against the tautological relationship between the text-based, formalist methods for appraising music and the end result that certain works that leant themselves readily to these procedures were hailed as masterpieces.[38] The philosophical streams of Platonism and Hegelianism are both critiqued by Richard Taruskin in the introduction of the *Oxford History of Western Music,* reflecting a sea change in the discipline:

> The historian needs to be on guard against the tendency, or the temptation, to simplify the story by neglecting this most basic fact of all. No historical event or change can be meaningfully asserted unless its agents can be specified; and *agents can only be people*. Attributions of agency unmediated by human action are, in effect, lies – or at the very least, evasions. They occur inadvertently in careless historiography (or historiography that has submitted unawares to a master narrative), and are invoked deliberately in propaganda (i.e., historiography that consciously colludes with a master narrative).[39]

Critiquing an even more glaring shortcoming of traditional twentieth-century music history, Cook posits how debilitated such a history would be if it dealt exclusively with compositions and composers:

> What are sold as histories of classical music represent music as something made by composers rather than performers. The twentieth century emerges as dominated by atonality, Schoenbergian serialism, post-war serialism, and a variety of postmodern reactions against it; depending on the market, there may be a few chapters on jazz and popular music. You could not tell from this that most classical music making in the twentieth century consisted of the performance, recording, and consumption of earlier music. It is like telling the story of the car purely in terms of successive refinements of the internal combustion engine rather than in terms of the innumerable ways in which cars changed people's lives.[40]

This is reminiscent of Burkholder's much earlier observation about how what was then commonly designated as twentieth-century music in academic discourse excluded jazz, film music, and popular music.[41]

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37. Botstein 2011: 525.
38. See Williams 2001: 4.
39. Taruskin 2010: xviii.
40. Cook 2013: 9.
41. Burkholder 1983: 115–116.

Several strategies have been employed to remedy this state of affairs. One of the early prominent ways out has been through histories of reception, which construe meaning as residing in how music was understood by listeners and thinkers – a strategy to be adopted here in Chapters 2 to 5. Connecting broader and older debates about writing history to musicology's preoccupations of recent decades, Butt likens Taruskin's interventions to those of Nietzsche:

> Nietzsche, like Taruskin, has often been accused of trying to dispense with history altogether when, in fact, his purpose was to destroy the belief that history led to a single, indisputable truth (i.e. 'History' in the objectivist sense as understood by Lowenthal). Instead, history should reveal as many perspectives on the past as there are individuals studying it; it should open up new possibilities rather than close down our perspectives.[42]

Taruskin summarises the merits of reception history by noting the example of *Don Giovanni*, whose meaning cannot be limited to the meaning it had for Mozart and Da Ponte, but which comes to us through the successive interpretations and commentaries of E.T.A Hofmann, Kierkegaard, Charles Rosen, and Peter Sellars, among others. For Taruskin, 'reconstruction of the original meaning, assuming it could be recaptured pure, should add its valuable mite to the pile, but cannot replace it.'[43]

The stakes here are more than just historical, of course. The various forms of gate-keeping that have surrounded western art music and the methodologies employed to study it have recently come under increasing scrutiny for their patriarchical and Eurocentric underpinnings. However, it may be a case of throwing the baby out with the bathwater if one comes to the conclusion that the sins of canonism can be atoned for simply by discarding the repertoire that embodied it in favour of a new, more representative canon. This gives urgency to the search for other ways to find meaning in canonical music that do not enclose it either in a hegemonic and unreflective historiography or in authoritarian, single-minded analytical methods.

Big beasts such as Platonism and Hegelianism can be difficult to tame conclusively in the wild churning of musical culture. Certain examples can frustrate expectations. For instance, there is Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht's work on Beethoven which, despite incorporating the very historicist tools of reception, nevertheless contextualised his findings in terms that Cook identifies as strongly Hegelian: 'processes of reception were

42. Butt 2002: 17

43. Taruskin 1995: 267.

seen as the unfolding of meanings that were already latent in the work, so revealing its true value… Understood this way, the study of reception might be seen as perpetuating the platonic model of the musical work, only by other means.'[44]

Another example that shows how such philosophies can be found in unexpected places is in the debate on Historically Informed Performance. Butt notes the unsettling ambiguities that practical matters generate when subjected to philosophical scrutiny:

> the conflict should not be one of absolutes. To affirm that historical performances are, by nature, better runs in the face of contemporary practice and evaluation within the world of performance. On the other hand, to affirm that the choice of instruments (and performing styles) is of no importance is to come near to returning to the 'pure' Platonist view of works as fixed eternal entities, unaffected by the contingencies of performance.[45]

This strongly Platonist idea of 'pure' forms unaffected by the contingencies of instrumentation also leads to blind spots. The idea, for instance, that the music of the French Baroque requires historically reconstructed performance means, not only carries with it implied value judgements about this repertoire, but moreover serves to push it out of the mainstream.[46]

Reception, in the broadest sense articulated above, also helped to tackle the strictest applications of the Platonist work concept. One of the leading contributions to this shift of approaches is Lydia Goehr's book *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*.[47] Cook credited Goehr with '[reformulating] the musical work in more realistic and sensible terms', moving away from an essentialised understanding of the musical work, to an open-ended regulative concept that is mutable in time.[48] Moreover, Butt summarised its impact by noting that it 'calls into question the entire tradition in which philosophers … play a major role, suggesting that the very structure of arguments in analytic philosophy, concerned as they are with the conditions of identity, are incompatible with the objects they purport to define.'[49] Goehr used histories of musical practices and discourses to support her reformulation:

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44. Cook 2013: 24.
45. Butt 2002: 67.
46. On this point, see Haskell 1988: 183; Neumann 1989: 27; Walls 2003: 17.
47. Goehr 1992.
48. Cook 2013: 22.
49. Butt 2002: 62. See also Goehr: 1995: 86

> By using a concept of reception which is grounded in the social history of music, Goehr proves in her philosophical and historical discourse that, at about 1800, music became another 'thing', another cultural activity. An ontological change occurred in music both in its production and performance as well as in the way it was perceived and experienced.[50]

Displacing the object of study from immanent meaning to be discovered in fixed works to questions of 'how patterns of cultural meaning are intertwined with the encompassing world of social and political significance'[51] has broadened the horizon of musical research, having an impact on historiography as well as on the more abstract task of conceiving of what music is. This is pithily summarised by Taruskin as a move from the question 'what does it mean?' to 'what has it meant?'[52]

For all the value of these challenges on either historiological or philosophical grounds, there is an urgent need to investigate performances themselves. There are often sizeable gaps between what agents – be they composers or performers – say or write, and what they actually do. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson observes that 'from about 1900 treatises and teaching books on how to play and sing can be compared with recordings – often recordings of their authors… and what we find is devastating to the whole idea of historically informed performance'.[53] An eloquent example is to be seen in the mutability of Stravinsky's recordings of *The Rite of Spring*.[54] Recorded artefacts lend themselves to a descriptive project of documenting performing styles; at the same time, evidence found in recordings can be marshalled in support of a wider problematisation of the work concept, text-based understandings of music, and prescriptivist attitudes to performance style.

José Bowen reflected compellingly on the significance of how performances carry deep implications for the identity of the musical work, and how the recorded past bears witness to changing priorities in performance. He described how the work concept, as it has traditionally operated, 'assumes a distinction between the accidental (or changeable) characteristics and the essential (or fixed) ones. If all performances of a musical work share an essential structural content (the notes, for most music) and vary only in nuance

50. Erauw 1998: 109.
51. Fulcher 2011: 4.
52. Taruskin 2010: xvii.
53. Leech-Wilkinson 2009a: 247
54. See Butt 2002: 75, 101–2. Philip 1992: 33.

or accidental characteristics, it is not always clear which qualities are which.'[55] Some previously incidental qualities may gradually turn into essential traits through the mediating influence of tradition and vice versa.[56] The boundary between interpretive choice and text is at best provisional:

> A musical work is a blurred concept with boundaries in different places for different people. The performance tradition, however, can define approximate boundaries. Conversely, tradition is the history of remembered innovation, and is always changing. Tradition is enforced through reproduction: notes which are no longer played are no longer part of the tune (as portamento is no longer essential to the Brahms Violin Concerto).[57]

This parenthetical reference to portamento in Brahms's Violin Concerto is illuminating because it illustrates how the mutability of performance style affects what one may call a collectively agreed-upon expectation about a performance of a given work. Portamento is not notated in the score but, then again, neither are many elements such as fluctuations in tempo or vibrato. By any accounts, a metrically exact performance, a performance completely devoid of vibrato, or a performance in which vibrato is excessively and constantly used would not be appraised as successful renditions of the Brahms Concerto. Based on the norms and expectations of a present-day classical music listener, such performances could, at best, be classified as idiosyncratic or 'mannered'. But this hypothetical listener is not the final arbiter on this matter. A frequent use of portamento would, in the first half-century or so of the Concerto's existence, have constituted a similarly un-notated, but similarly consensual requirement for a performance of the piece to be deemed successful.

Historical investigations into performance style have demonstrated how these boundaries between essential and incidental qualities have shifted in the past, making the concept of a work historically contingent *and dependent on performances.*[58] Indeed, a performing tradition – for example, performing the second subject group more slowly in a symphony – will inevitably affect the internal temporal proportions of the movement, with consequences for the movement's perceived structural features.[59] Changes in

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55. Bowen 1993: 145.
56. Bowen 1999: 427–8, 444.
57. Bowen 1993: 163–4.
58. Or at least on a group of its performances that would have been recognised as valid. This was pithily summarised by Bruce Haynes using the dictum 'When you say something differently, you say something different' (Haynes 2007: 22).
59. Bowen 1999: 434.

performance norms bear witness to the flexibility with which meanings both come and then cease to be associated with specific interpretative phenomena.[60] The history of performance therefore is not separable from that of the work, but traces a history of evolving concepts of the work.[61] As Bowen notes, 'awareness of musical works as neither stable nor fixed phenomena does not have to be paralysing; rather the fact that musical works change through both the creation and reception of performances presents us with a fundamentally new field of study.'[62]

Prominent examples of these new perspectives on music history have come from the research outputs of the AHRC-funded Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music (2004–9).[63] This initiative, within the context of increased interest in performances throughout the discipline, has invited lively scholarly debates in the succeeding years. In the ongoing project 'Challenging Performance',[64] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson presents more than a bonfire of the vanities, but rather a demolition derby – taking aim at unexamined assumptions that govern Western Art Music. His online compendium covers much ground in describing normative and authoritarian impulses that have common currency not just in academia, but in conservatoire training and the wider classical music world. As a non-exhaustive sample, I include these five:

- The idea that musical training imparts natural musicianship that is timeless and value-neutral.
- The deification of the composer as a source of authority.
- The privileging of the score as a vessel for that authority.
- An ethic of performance that presupposes the aim of performing transparently what the composer intended.
- The possibility of recovering (if not the *obligation* to recover) instruments and performance practices from the time when historical repertoires were composed.[65]

60. Day 2000: 193.
61. Bowen 1999: 430.
62. Ibid.: 424.
63. See the full chronological list at https://charm.rhul.ac.uk/studies/p6_1_4.html (accessed 14 June 2020).
64. See challengingperformance.com (accessed 14 June 2020).
65. For the full list, see Section 6, 'Further Western Classical Music delusions', at https://challengingperformance.com/the-book-6-0/ (accessed 14 June 2020).

These issues can be tackled by a more pluralist and more lucid investigation of the history of music. A history based on the multiplicity of performance acts and practices surrounding performance can help to revise commonly accepted understandings of certain musics, especially canonical repertoires that have most often come to the present shrouded in assumptions and pious fictions. Leech-Wilkinson's 'Challenging Performance' gestures at some of these potential directions of inquiry. Drawing on the doctoral dissertation of Anna Scott, he contrasts the fiery, idiosyncratic performances of Ilona Eibenschütz and Etelka Freund with a modern Brahmsian identity marked by 'control (as opposed to Romantic, in other words Wagnerian, disorder), health (as opposed to Romantic sickness), restraint (as opposed to Romantic excess).'[66] He continues by observing that 'The scores haven't changed. What's changed are the ways they are imagined and sounded by performers and thus imagined and understood by listeners. And along with them inevitably there must have been change also in the kind of imaginative musician Brahms seemed to be.'[67]

Messy, and therefore Human

Documenting music history in these terms – historically located imaginings, whether sounded, visual, editorial, or discursive – constitutes an over-arching aim of this dissertation. It presents some novelties, but emerges from worthy precedents, along the lines of Taruskin:

> It may be time for some countermilitancy – against authority, against utopia, against purity – on behalf of tradition as hermeneuts conceive it: cumulative, multiply authored, open, accommodating, above all *messy*, and therefore human.[68]

In the introduction to his later *Oxford History of Western Music,* Taruskin mentions the work of Howard Saul Becker on conceiving of art in terms of a multiplicity of institutions, infrastructure, and agents that lead to the final product.[69] For Taruskin, 'processes of collective action and mediation … are most often missing in conventional musical

66. Leech-Wilkinson n.d.: Section 4 (accessed 14 June 2020). See also Scott 2014: 60.
67. Ibid.
68. Taruskin 1995: 192. Taruskin's italics.
69. See Becker 1982: 2–4.

historiography.'[70] He objects to the latent propensity to imagine that Beethoven alone was a necessary precondition for the Fifth Symphony to come into existence, adding:

> Bartók gave a valuable clue to the kind of account that truly explains when he commented dryly that Kodály's *Psalmus Hungaricus* 'could not have been written without Hungarian peasant music. (Neither, of course, could it have been written without Kodály.)' An explanatory account describes the dynamic … relationship that obtains between powerful agents and mediating factors: institutions and their gatekeepers, ideologies, patterns of consumption and dissemination involving patrons, audiences, publishers and publicists, critics, chroniclers, commentators, and so on practically indefinitely until one chooses to draw the line.[71]

This chapter has aimed to demonstrate how the tidiness of certain ways of conceiving of musical culture and its unfolding in history may lead to regrettable blind spots. Heuristically, I propose a diagrammatic representation of my own to summarise this, shown in Figure 1.2. Here, the significance of the performative turn is shown to be twofold: the renewed interest in performances, performers, and the many participants in musical practices has the effect of disrupting two different but equally vexed issues that have chronically bedevilled the study of music. As Figure 1.2 shows, they intersect in this transformative paradigm shift.

70. Taruskin 2010: xx.

71. Ibid.

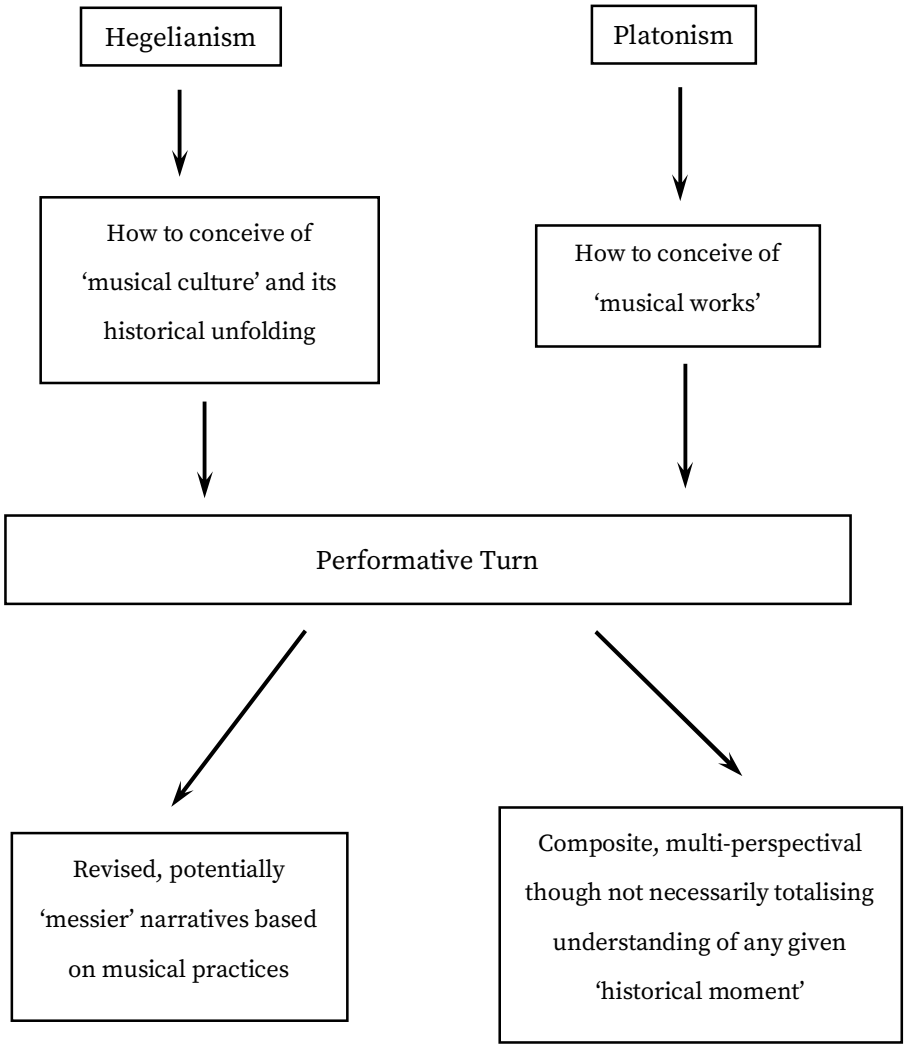

Figure 1.2. Diagrammatic representation summarising how Platonism, Hegelianism, and the performative turn influence an understanding of history

History has been shown to be built out of interpretations that not only come from the creative practice of the historian, but furthermore are subject to reinvention. Gombrich names the work of Johann Huizinga on the paintings of van Eyck to describe one such moment of reinvention:

> The average art historian who practised *Geistgeschichte* would have started from the impression van Eyck's paintings made on him and proceeded to select other testimonies of the time that appeared to tally with this impression. What is so fascinating in Huizinga is that he took the opposite line. He simply knew too many facts about the age of van Eyck to find it easy to square his impression of his pictures with the voice of the documents. He felt he had rather to reinterpret the style of the painter to make it fit with what he knew of the culture… Thus van

> Eyck's realism could no longer be seen as a harbinger of a new age; his jewel-like richness and his accumulation of detail were rather an expression of the same late-Gothic spirit that was also manifested, much less appealingly, in the prolix writing of the period which nobody but specialists read anymore.[72]

Broadly speaking, the following chapters are an attempt at such a *sympathetic* exegesis. The insight to be sought in what follows is not limited to the impact of performances and practices on musical history: one must proceed in full conscience that music performance and music history involve a two-way traffic. For example, describing the gradually decreasing use of portamento in vocal and string performance between 1900 and 1950[73] may be useful for the purpose of summarising general tendencies, but performances do not emerge from deterministic processes. Performances come from somewhere: a densely woven tapestry of influences connects performers to the repertoire they play. Of course, even the most thoroughgoing fact-finding mission will not succeed at recovering all the threads, but many of them will lead to these historically localised imaginings of the repertoire.

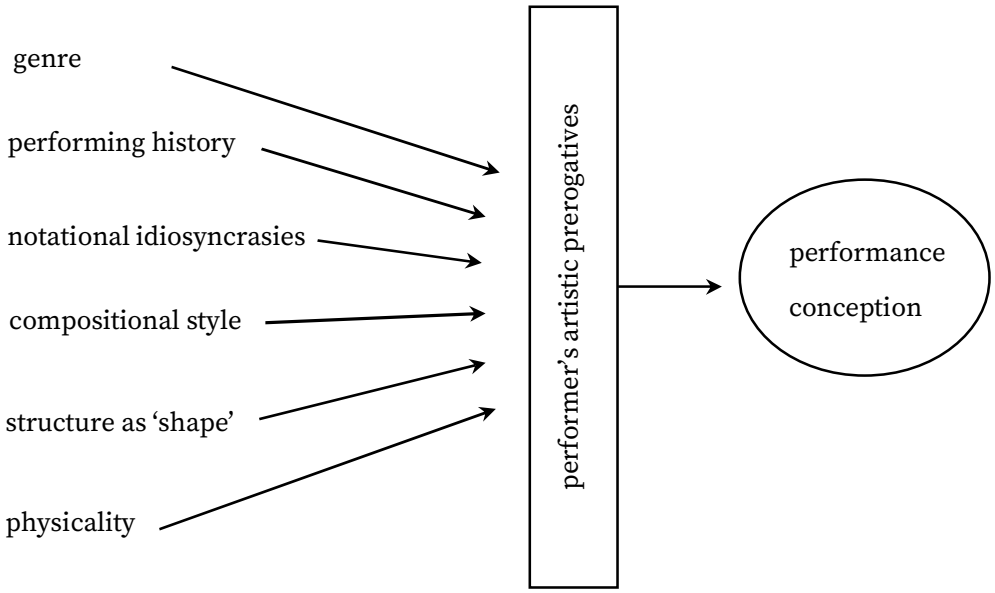

Figure 1.3. Rink's 'Refraction model' of performance[74]

72. Gombrich (1967) 1979: 45.
73. See Leech-Wilkinson 2006.
74. See Rink 2004: 48.

Among the many ways of conceiving of performance, John Rink proposes one in which the performer draws upon a multiplicity of factors in the process of performing, shown in Figure 1.3:

> These factors – and no doubt many more – feed into an interpretation when filtered through a kind of 'prism' defined by the performer's artistic prerogatives. The process of refraction implied by [Figure 1.3] leads to a performance in which the performer can at last believe: one reflecting personal conviction and individual choice, at the same time demonstrating historical and analytical awareness and a given 'programming' (both physical and psychological). This process of refraction is to me the essence of interpretation.[75]

Similarly, this dissertation draws upon a number of sources of insight, which add up to a 'messy', human history of encounters with a repertoire, subject to various influences, in which none will predominate over the others. There is reception, editions, concert culture, then gramophone culture and criticism, and finally analyses of recordings. Rink's refraction model can usefully be repurposed in the manner shown in Figure 1.4.

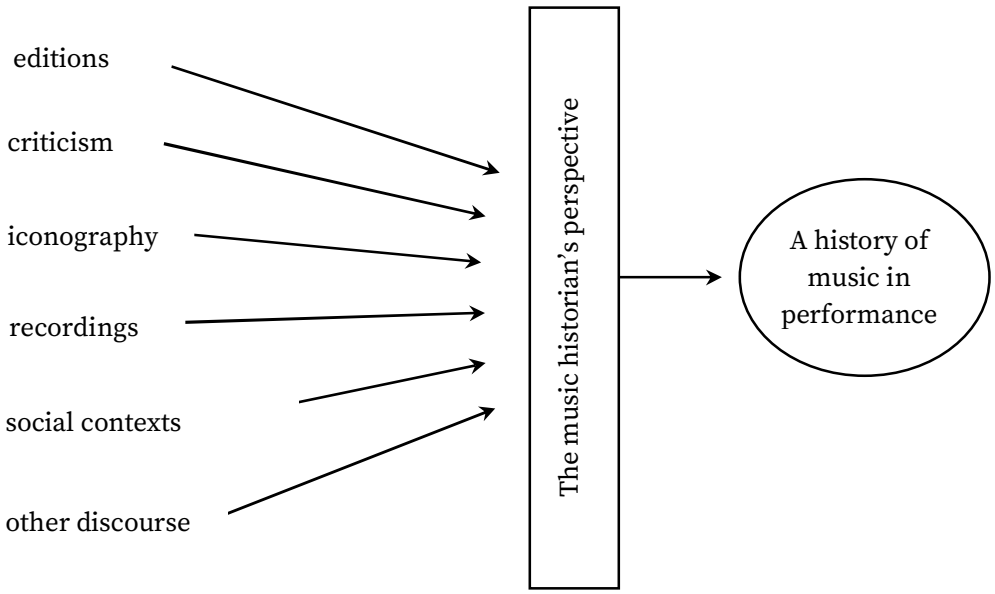

Figure 1.4. Refraction model of music history as analogous to performance

This accounts for history *as* performance, but I also propose a similar way of conceiving of performances. This breed of history, prioritising activities and experiences over facts, does not claim to be any more definitive, but draws connections between qualitatively different yet linked areas. This multi-perspectival examination sets out, instead, to assess

75. Ibid.: 47–8.

the available evidence inductively. Hence it poses the questions 'what has it meant?', 'what *personae* did these performances and events embody?', and 'what role did performers play in this?'.

The following chapters therefore engage with different aspects of the complex and multi-faceted interactions between performance, ontology, and historical narrative as they apply to Bach's keyboard works. Each of these vantage points exposes a certain idea of the composer using approaches that may differ but ultimately complement each other. As there is no such thing as innocent juxtaposition, the sum total of these conceptions of the composer is used to demonstrate the pluralism of Bach performance and reception in the interwar era. The project as a whole explores disparate facets with the explicit aim of avoiding a unified or totalising series of findings, instead seeking a composite, additive mosaic of insight.

2. Johann / John Sebastian:
Bach Reception in Britain and Cross-Channel Relationships

An additive, inductive approach to writing history as it was experienced by performers and listeners is particularly well-suited to Bach. The present chapter discusses in general terms why this is the case, and then outlines salient features of Bach reception in Britain. While the dissertation's main focus is on the period from 1920 to the mid-1930s, attention is devoted here to the decades leading up to that historical moment. Most of the performances discussed at greater length in later chapters were by pianists who trained around or shortly after 1900. To understand the musical culture in which they developed and the attitudes towards Bach that prevailed at the time requires one to sympathetically 'walk in their footsteps'. The exercise aims to determine (a) how Bach was thought of and written about; (b) what aspects of his oeuvre received the most attention; (c) how (a) and (b) might have shaped the ways in which people performed Bach; and (d) how all of this adds up to a historically located *idea* of the composer.

Reception and (of?) Performance

Chapter 1 described the pressures that these factors exert on the work concept; the competing uses and understandings that have characterised Bach performance exemplify these pressures in unique ways. Antoine Hennion and Joël-Marie Fauquet address a problem often encountered in such studies: 'to speak of reception history is to already admit that the oeuvre is constituted'.[1] In other words, it is difficult, and unwise in the case of music such as Bach's, which has been repurposed and subjected to new readings at so many times and in so many contexts, to proceed on the assumption that there is a single unchanging 'thing' to which various agents, be they performers, critics, or audiences, merely react passively. Hennion and Fauquet add that 'if the history of works and that of tastes are kept separate, if the opposition is maintained between music itself and the public that reconstructs it, the problem is insoluble.'[2] The interest of their approach is in the emphasis placed on practices and uses of Bach's music, which are identified by

1. Hennion & Fauquet 2001: 78–79.
2. Ibid.: 78.

Hennion and Fauquet as fully constitutive of the work's existence. Rather than accounting for responses to works, they ventured to reconstruct the works through the negotiated relationships between performers and audiences:

> Bach is neither the solitary individual born in 1685 to whom history will ascribe an oeuvre, nor an artificial construct of our modern taste. He embodies a gigantic mass, in the geological sense, made up of the accumulation over time and space of a multitude of devices supporting one another, the result of a great amount of past work and pleasure.[3]

Although the possible implications of this statement – for conceiving of Bach's works, for performing them, for historiography, for alternative models of authenticity – are a pressing and present-day concern, the methodological groundwork was laid as early as 1947 in Friedrich Blume's study *Two Centuries of Bach: An Account of Changing Taste*. Blume argued that perceptions of Bach's music in Germany were transformed by wider collective experiences in history, and he identified the Napoleonic wars as a significant turning point, along with the consequent rise in German nationalism and the birth of romanticism. These changes in perspective signalled a rejection of rational Enlightenment ideology – disseminated at the time by the French emperor's armies, but also emblematic of the decaying Holy Roman Empire's status quo – and promised a return to more spiritual, subjective forms of knowledge:

> It was the dawn of a passionate love of the old German traditions, of a new interest in history and of a new discipline of historical study, of an insatiable urge to rediscover the sources of history… It was the surge of a new attitude to the world taking hold of men's hearts, releasing them from the bonds of rationalism and aspiring to experience the world emotionally, placing art above man (as Wackenroder put it) and seeing in music (as E.T.A. Hoffmann put it) a mysterious realm of spirits.[4]

More recently, the historical embeddedness of the Bach revival and its participation in the social, religious, and artistic debates of its own time, have been investigated by Celia Applegate, who notes:

> Historicism and romanticism, as historians have usually identified such attitudes, became the dominant families of ideas shaping the Bach revival, but we often forget that they shaped, first of all, a sustained discussion about religious music, without which the *St Matthew Passion* of 1829 might not have taken place or would at least have been differently received.[5]

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3. Ibid.: 84.
4. Blume (1947) 1950: 36–37. See also Scher 1976 for further discussion of Wackenroder and Hoffmann.
5. Applegate 2005: 180.

The *Passion*'s revival in Berlin took place in a context of controversial theological reform in the Prussian state, during which Frederick William III unified the Lutheran and Reformed churches and attempted to standardise liturgical use.[6] Meanwhile, German thinkers turned to an awareness of historical repertoires, including the old polyphonic style of Palestrina, in search of a new religious and musical sublime.[7] One strong current in the network of social and cultural effects that surrounded Mendelssohn's revival of the *St Matthew Passion* – and one that would define nineteenth-century Bach reception – was the rebirth of a Lutheran and German identity. This connection would be solidified in later works such as Philipp Spitta's monumental biography and other writings.[8] Mendelssohn's revival, however, was emblematic of successive ones in that it attracted a wide variety of advocates and resists attempts to interpret it as a monovalent phenomenon.[9]

Much remains to be said on the interplay of reception history and performance. In the following paragraphs, I draw on the consequences of an observation made by Martin Zenck about the challenges of acquiring a historical understanding of Bach or his music. This distinction, between knowledge about the composer and knowledge of the repertoire, should not be lost sight of:

> If … we speak of the implied listener and the possible 'shift' of perspective during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there must also have been a process of reinterpreting Bach's music which was detached from Bach's own understanding. Otherwise, there would be only two possibilities: not to perform Bach's music at all owing to its absolute foreignness, or to receive Bach's music only according to strict historical performance practice (and with the theological understanding of Bach's parishioners).[10]

We have no choice but to reflect on the operations within musical culture that have *necessarily* been applied to Bach performance in the centuries that separate him from the

6. See ibid.: 174–80.

7. Ibid. 179–80.

8. Blume 1974: 392; Spitta 1882; Spitta (1873) 1899.

9. 'Those who were moved by the music included defenders of orthodoxy like Friedrich Wilhelm III, rationalists like Abraham Mendelssohn, Catholic aesthetes like Joseph Maria von Radowitz (then Prussian chief of artillery), and pantheists like … Goethe. The variety of responses defies the efforts made over the years to sum up its meaning in a single phrase such as "nineteenth-century nostalgia" or "romanticization of Bach" or "art as secularized religion." There may be some truth to each of these, but the intersecting of cultural attitudes and social developments in the 1829 reception of Bach's *Passion* music remains its distinction.' (Applegate 2005: 174)

10. Zenck 2009a: 224.

present day. Indeed, the many changes that have occurred since Bach's lifetime bring into question the very desirability of historical reconstruction, as noted by James Gaines:

> Just as Bach influenced all the music and history that came after him, all that music and history changed him, or changed at least how his music could be heard. For this reason and others, no matter how 'original' the instruments or groupings of choristers, however 'authentic' a performance strives to be, Bach can never be heard as his contemporary audiences heard him.[11]

In the early years of the twentieth century, many traditions coexisted among European musicians. In another survey, working backwards from musical practices to conceptions of Bach, Jacques Handschin credited Albert Schweitzer with proposing a more sober performance approach, which drew upon melodic contour and rhythmic definition instead of harmony and sonority to bring out expression. Handschin characterised this as a French style, which he opposed to the more emotionally involved romantic tradition of Germany. Here, there is of course the danger of producing essentialised or stereotyped national schools. As is explored below, the disparity in the repertoire performed in different musical cultures that highlighted different facets of Bach's oeuvre may account for discrepancies in performance approach. For José Bowen, 'there seems to be a connection between what you think the piece means and how you play it. The study of performance traditions, therefore, provides a link between performance practice and hermeneutics.'[12] Thus, the German nationalism and Lutheran piety of Forkel and Spitta, along with the greater emphasis on the liturgical works such as the *Passions*, may shed more light on this 'more involved' German performance tradition than some innate 'German-ness', filtered through musical culture.[13] Musicologists have investigated some of the layers of Bach reception, through which the image of the composer underwent significant changes.[14]

There is strong evidence to suggest that by the end of the nineteenth century, the dissemination of biographies and editions gave well-informed enthusiasts a reasonably detailed understanding of Bach. For example, the Bach Gesellschaft's list of subscribers in Britain included many significant personalities such as George Grove, Charles Villiers

11. Gaines 2006: 271.
12. Bowen 1999: 450.
13. Handschin 1929: 16. See also Grace 1918.
14. See Ellis 2005 and Hennion & Fauquet 2001 on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France; Kassler 2004 and Tomita 2007 for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England; and Hinrichsen 1999, Elste 1999 and Elste 2000 for more general surveys.

Stanford, Ebenezer Prout, Ernst Pauer, Edward Dannreuther, Otto Goldschmidt, Charles Hallé, and J.A. Fuller Maitland, in addition to institutional subscribers such as the Universities of Cambridge and Edinburgh, the Royal College of Music, the London Bach Choir, and the British Museum. The United Kingdom was home to more subscribers to the complete Bach edition than any other state outside of Germany and Austria (accounted for together in the geographical listing).[15] Conversely, Bach was at best a marginal figure in the musical understanding of the layperson until well into the twentieth century. Insight may usefully be gained by establishing which works were most visible and celebrated as exemplars of Bach's idiom.

General Characteristics of Bach Reception in Britain

One should then integrate many sources of insight – texts, performances, accounts, perspectives – with the aim of accounting for the multiplicity of historically situated 'images of Bach',[16] their sounded incarnations, and the two-way traffic between them. This returns to the ultimate purpose of sympathetically 'walking in the footsteps' of a performer who was trained around the turn of the twentieth century. Thus, a more detailed 'Bach-Bild' for British musical culture in the early twentieth century is developed here with reference both to conventional reception history and inquiry about repertoire and performance – what aspects of Bach's oeuvre received particular attention and for what reasons.

The history of the Bach revival in Britain has, in recent decades, received close attention in academic publications.[17] But in the wider musical press, the growth of interest in Bach has been chronicled since as early as 1851, when an unsigned article appeared in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* entitled 'The Progress of Bach's Music in England'.[18] Other synoptic summaries of the Bach revival in Britain appeared in the

15. BGA 3: iii–x; BGA 45.1: iii–x.

16. A suggestive term, 'Bach-Bilder', which I borrow from German musicological discourse. See for example Sandberger 1997.

17. Dürr 1993; Kassler 2004a; Kassler 2004b; Kassler 2006; Keen 2008; Tomita 2004a; Tomita 2004b; Tomita 2007a; Dirst 2012; French 2014.

18. *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular,* June 1851: 192–93. Kassler and Olleson identify the author of the article as Edward Holmes (2001: 735).

musical press in 1896 and 1935.[19] Just as many conflicting chronologies describe degeneracy and renaissance occurring in English music at a variety of times,[20] taking contemporary or near-contemporary accounts at face value would suggest that Bach was permanently both neglected and vigorously resurgent throughout the nineteenth century. The truth, as this chapter aims to demonstrate, lies somewhere in between: Bach has meant many things to different agents in the long nineteenth century. It is precisely the nuances of meaning and usage gleaned from reception history that situate the performances examined later in the dissertation.

A pattern that would repeat itself many times throughout the nineteenth century concerns the contributions made by German émigrés and travellers. The curious exception, as Matthew Dirst remarks, is that 'the one direct link in England to Sebastian Bach figures hardly at all in this story.[21] Bach's son Johann Christian settled in London in 1762, but his legacy prompted a later chronicler to ask "'What did … the 'English Bach' do for the propagation of his father's music in England?" The answer, so far as we know, is "Nothing"'.[22] Charles Burney, in *The State of Music in Germany,* provided a succinct biographical mention that primarily dwelt on his legacy as a pedagogue of the organ and father of Carl Philipp Emanuel.[23] In the discussion of contrapuntal forms that appeared in his later *General History of Music,* Burney mentioned Bach but voiced a strong preference for Handel's fugue writing, calling the latter 'the only great [writer of fugues] exempt from pedantry. He seldom treated barren or crude subjects; his themes being almost always natural and pleasing.'[24] This view was highly characteristic of the time and milieu, as Dirst details:

> The music of J. S. Bach appealed only to a select few and posed something of a problem in England: its sheer complexity, coupled with a stubborn cultural prejudice against the music of any rival to Handel, were serious impediments to a wider reception, even among professionals. Devotees in England thus had to devise a rationale distinct from their continental counterparts for those works of Bach they admired and wished to share with others.[25]

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19. *The Musical Times*, September–December 1896: 585–87, 722–26, 797–800; *The Musical Quarterly,* April 1935: 143–54
20. Temperley 1999: 7.
21. Dirst 2012: 119.
22. *The Musical Times*, September 1896: 585.
23. Burney (1775) 2014: 80–83.
24. Burney (1789) 2010a: 110.
25. Dirst 2012: 119.

The earliest manifestations of a genuine Bach revival took place in the early years of the nineteenth century, seeded by two German-born musicians, Augustus Kollmann and Karl Friedrich (later Charles Frederick) Horn, who settled in London in the early years of the nineteenth century.[26] Another universally acknowledged figure of this phenomenon was Samuel Wesley, whose 'steadily rising profile as an organist in the first two decades of the nineteenth century went hand in hand with his advocacy for and promotion of the music of J.S. Bach, which began in 1808. From then on, the organ was the main medium by which he sought to popularize Bach's music'.[27] Kollmann translated into English Johann Nikolaus Forkel's biography of Bach, while Horn collaborated with Wesley to produce an edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* which was widely circulated. Stanley Godman furthermore posits that Wesley's earliest contact with the '48' was a manuscript copy brought by Kollmann. In this case, it is no mere metaphor to state that Bach's music came in the luggage of German travellers.[28] While Wesley, Horn, and Kollmann were responsible for the first edition of the '48' to be published in Britain, they had also used the Zürich edition (Nägeli) as one of their sources.[29] Another early champion of Bach's music was the organist and composer William Crotch. He was the first in Britain to perform the Prelude and Fugue in E-flat major BWV 552 and is credited with coining the designation by which it continues to be known in English-speaking countries due to the fugue subject's resemblance to the 'St Anne' hymn.[30] This first Bach revival was heavily weighted towards the keyboard repertoire, although prevailing attitudes to instrumentation remained flexible. One insoluble problem persisted until well into the nineteenth century: the lack of organs with pedal boards.[31] The consequence of this was an often disconcerting mismatch of repertoire and instrumentation. Following Wesley's example as a performer, items from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* were long favoured by organists for use as voluntaries. At the same time, strategies for performing the Preludes and Fugues originally written for Bach's pedal organ varied considerably. Wesley's early Bach performances on the organ were often duets in which he was joined by Benjamin Jacob or

26. Duckles 1981: 498.
27. Olleson 2012: 284.
28. *The Monthly Musical Record*, December 1952: 259
29. See Tomita 2004a.
30. *The Musical Times*, September 1896: 723; *The Monthly Musical Record,* February 1953: 36; Duckles 1981: 499; Olleson 2012: 286.
31. *The Monthly Musical Record*, February 1953: 36.

Vincent Novello.[32] The edition of the six Trio Sonatas for organ that he prepared with Horn 'was explicitly presented as a duet for piano three hands.'[33] Contrary to prevailing norms in Germany, which had seen the keyboard works migrate from the clavichord and harpsichord to the piano, the fugues in early nineteenth-century England 'were by definition organ music. As a result, Bach's first champions in England played his keyboard works mostly on the organ.'[34] Moreover, this approach remained popular until the mid-century, especially for the *stile antico* fugues such as D major, E-flat major, D-sharp minor, and E major in Book II.[35]

This first heyday of Bach reception was considerably varied in terms of the instrumental means chosen for performance, but focused first and foremost on Bach's music written for keyboard instruments. It is useful to trace how different aspects of Bach's compositional output attracted attention and discussion as the nineteenth century unfolded because, as is seen below, these developments would nurture often widely different understandings of the composer later in the century, and indeed in the following one. Evidence of this may be found in the pre-eminence, a century later, of organists among the commentators and critics who discussed Bach in Britain. Harvey Grace, one of the period's most prolific record critics, and regular contributor to *The Musical Times* under several pseudonyms,[36] was an organist and is likely to approached Bach from the vantage point of the organ loft.[37]

Felix Mendelssohn's visits to Britain constitute another turning point. He was responsible for contributing primary source material to this first Bach revival led by Wesley, Crotch, and editors such as Novello.[38] His role in reviving the *St Matthew Passion* and editing the Chorales did not go unnoticed in Britain either. There are records of numerous exchanges

32. See Olleson 2012.

33. Olleson 2012: 285; Dirst 2012: 130.

34. Dirst 2012: 135.

35. Ibid.: 139.

36. See Chapter 5, note 68.

37. His book, *The Organ Works of Bach* (see Grace 1922b), explains the repertoire and discusses performance approaches at length. See note 104 in this chapter.

38. Mendelssohn provided Vincent Novello with a manuscript copy of the 'little' Fugue in E minor BWV 533 after having played it to him in 1832 during his second sojourn in London. Novello published the fugue the following year, which was the work's first appearance in print anywhere. (*The Musical Times*, November 1896: 724; Stinson 2010: 37).

in which he disseminated and performed seldom heard repertoire, such as the 'pedal' fugues, during these travels.[39] However, it was Mendelssohn's status as a composer of oratorios, that placed him in a unique position to influence the stage of Bach reception that followed in the mid-century and onwards, during which emphasis would move to the choral repertoire. Percy Scholes noted that the first century of *The Musical Times*, i.e. 1844 to 1944, 'was the Oratorio Century. It saw an immense popularisation of the form, largely due to the success of the sight-singing movement and the consequent rapid multiplication of choral societies.[40]

These cross-channel exchanges provide another example of how British musical life was both strongly influenced by German imports – material, human, and intellectual – while still being governed by local considerations. Jeffrey Sposato's comparative reception histories of Mendelssohn's *Paulus* in Germany and Britain introduce relevant insights into differences in listening practices. The oratorio was first performed in Britain in Liverpool in October 1836, just a few months after its premiere in Düsseldorf. Sposato highlights two features that bear witness to discontinuities in expectation. Mendelssohn's use of Lutheran chorales was enough of a novelty to the audience that the word 'chorale' was printed in italics in the concert programmes at the Liverpool performance.[41] In fact, explanations of the chorale, often substituted with the term 'Lutheran hymn' or 'psalm tune', continue to appear in later accounts of the oratorio.[42] Though it was well-received in Britain, the expectation of what an oratorio should be was still dominated by the works of Handel, another perennial character foil for Bach. Bach's sacred works also faced the weight of this expectation.

When Mendelssohn brought *Paulus* to Liverpool, he encountered a another issue with how it came to be understood by audiences. Barbara Mohn describes an Anglican aversion to dramatic depictions of Jesus in these sensuous, almost operatic musical forms:

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39. Henry John Gauntlett remembered performances in 1840 and 1842 in the following words: '[Mendelssohn] was the first to play the G minor, the D major, the E major, and the short E minor, of which he gave a copy to Novello, who printed it with a note. And he taught us how to play the slow fugue, for Adams had played all fugues fast. I recollect Mendelssohn's saying: 'Your organists think Bach did not write a slow fugue for the organ.' (Quoted in *The Musical Times*, November 1896: 724. Italics in the original).

40. Scholes 1947: 60.

41. Sposato 2008: 37

42. *The Musical Times*, July 1853: 211–12.

the 'singing Jesus problem'.[43] This taboo was as entrenched for the sacred works of Bach as it was for *Paulus*. Sposato ventures this as an explanation for the relatively late introduction of this repertoire in Britain: the *St Matthew Passion* was performed for the first time only in 1854.[44] Sposato's article shows how musical events acquire meaning according to historically and geographically situated circumstances, whether it is the historical divide which Mendelssohn approached with the compromise of removing arias and chorales that were foreign to nineteenth-century audiences when he revived the *Passion* in Berlin,[45] or the tensions inherent in the use of the Lutheran oratorio for a British audience that was accustomed to Handelian conventions.

Mendelssohn's influence was felt in the creation of institutions such as the London Bach Society and the London Bach Choir, both founded by leading disciples of Mendelssohn in England.[46] Consequently, Bach's sacred choral works, especially the oratorios, would attract growing attention as the century wore on. William Sterndale Bennett was responsible for founding the first Bach Society in 1849. It is remarked, pointedly, that this took place a year before the establishment of its better-known counterpart in Germany.[47] Although the Leipzig Bach Society aimed to produce a complete edition of Bach's works, the London society was primarily concerned with performance. Their inaugural concert in July 1850 commemorated the centenary of Bach's death, and included six of Bach's motets.[48] The most enterprising venture, however, took place on 6 April 1854, when Sterndale-Bennett directed a performance of the *St Matthew Passion* in the Hanover Square Rooms. In the following years the London Bach Society brought forth a number of other first British performances, including that of the *Christmas Oratorio*, curiously enough, in the month of June 1861.[49]

The society was disbanded in 1871, but a successor was soon convened through the impetus of Otto Goldschmidt. In 1876, a choir was formed specially to give the first complete performance in Britain of the Mass in B minor. This grew to be permanent ensemble, known as the London Bach Choir, and counted among its directors Charles

43. Mohn 2000: 128–33. Quoted in Sposato 2008: 43.
44. *The Musical Times*, September 1896: 798–99.
45. Sposato 2008: 30. See also Jones 2016.
46. Leaver 1989: 36.
47. Hinrichsen 1999: 48–49.
48. They would later be published by subscription (*The Musical Times*, December 1896: 798).
49. *The Musical Times*, December 1896: 799.

Stanford Terry, Hugh Allen, and Charles Villiers Stanford. It was one of the most technically expert manifestations of the choral society movement, particularly as it pertained to Bach reception. It presented repertoire which at the time had been described as austere and challenging both to perform and to understand. However, clubs of this kind were a popular cultural phenomenon in Britain during this period, and would remain so well into the twentieth century. The large-scale vocal works such as the *Passions* and the Mass inserted themselves well into a musical culture of clubs, subscription societies, and similar collective undertaking in the late Victorian era. Edward Dannreuther later remembered that

> Continental musicians have no conception of the amount and really good quality of the work done in this quiet way. Take the smaller choral associations of Yorkshire, Lancashire, or Wales, for instance: they are seriously in earnest about their music, and their meetings are anything rather than a convenient *bureau de mariage*, as it has been whispered such things are apt to be. It is no exaggeration to state that there are in the United Kingdom fifty thousand men and women who could meet together and sing the choruses of the *Messiah* without rehearsal. These singing societies among the lower middle classes generally seem to act as a counterpoise to much that is ugly and depressing in their daily occupation, and in the close mental atmosphere in which they live. They sing Handel mainly; they are beginning to sing Bach; and who knows but that the *Passion* and the B minor Mass, and even Beethoven's *Missa Solennis* [*sic*], may ere long become household words with them, as the *Messiah* is already.[50]

In parallel to this, and as a prelude to the ensuing discussion, it is worth considering the development of Bach in the repertoires of pianists. Wesley and other exponents of his generation promoted Bach from the vantage point of the organ loft and in their capacity as editors, but the introduction of the keyboard works into piano performance merits particular attention: with the development of pianistic education, and especially with the adoption of Continental training, Bach was woven into the resulting institutions. Despite the limits of enlisting pedagogical lineages as explanatory mechanisms (as seen in the Introduction), broader networks of influences can prove informative. For example, some of the earliest performances of the (non-organ) keyboard repertoire on the piano were given by Ignaz Moscheles, who lived in London from 1825 to 1846. His 'historical soirées' presented the works of Bach on the piano and even the keyboard *Essercizi* of Scarlatti on the harpsichord. It is said that 'Moscheles introduced two of Bach's Clavier works into England. At his Concert of May 11, 1836, he played the D minor Clavier Concerto; and at

50. *The Musical Times*, May 1904: 303.

that in the following year (May 30, 1837) the Triple Concerto was performed by Thalberg, Benedict, and the Concert-giver'.[51] Moscheles, a mentor of Mendelssohn and disciple of Beethoven, stands a crucial juncture in the defining and defending of a tradition of high art music. Curiously, Moscheles's influence on British institutions later in the century would involve yet another round trip: he returned to Germany to take up a post at the conservatoire in Leipzig, where he taught Edward Dannreuther. Dannreuther would, in turn, settle in Britain and exert considerable influence on musical life in late Victorian London. In addition to being one of the founding members of the Royal College of Music, he was an enthusiastic proponent of Wagner in Britain, as well as a scholar of early music and champion of Bach.[52] The concerts held in his home at Orme Square featured numerous significant performances of Bach's keyboard works. These evenings expanded the horizon of expectation of the London concert-goer both through the revival of previously neglected eighteenth-century works, such as the *Aria with 30 Variations,* and through Dannreuther's fervent support of new music.[53] Dannreuther's pupil, Harold Samuel, whose Bach concert series are treated in Chapter 3, remembered that Dannreuther had the breadth of musical vision to reconcile Brahmsian and Wagnerian tendencies,[54] formulating a compromise position by which a pianist steeped in the Beethoven '32' and the Bach '48' could encompass both the forward-looking innovations of these works and their profound craftsmanship. This suggests how Bach and other canonical composers were understood in terms of how they encompassed many, often contradictory layers of interpretation. The comparison of Bach and Handel drastically changes complexion between the beginning and the end of the nineteenth century: at least among professional musicians, the canon as exemplified by Beethoven and Bach was the lingua franca of all the relevant factions of opinion that Dannreuther supposedly reconciled.

51. *The Musical Times*, November 1896: 725.

52. His 1891 treatise *Musical Ornamentation* is discussed in Chapter 4.

53. See Dibble 2000. The elite and expert nature of this Orme Square concert-goer in relation to the *average* London concert goer should nevertheless not be lost sight of.

54. *The Musical Times*, January 1922: 16.

Conservatoires, Universities, Texts, Historiography

The later decades of the nineteenth century also coincide with the development of formal education in conservatoires such as the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music, as well as the rise of academic music courses in the universities. Rosemary Golding furthermore draws a connection between Mendelssohn's legacy, the Bach revival, and the development of specialised music curricula: 'Mendelssohn embodied many of the hopes for music in the universities in both his personal and musical profiles. He contributed to the sacred repertoire through oratorios, motets and organ music, espoused in his instrumental music the more "academic" musical techniques, and gave impetus to the English Bach revival.'[55] The values of craftsmanship associated with contrapuntal writing, as typified by the *exempla classica* of Bach, were frequently used to bolster claims of seriousness and respectability.[56] As the degree programmes at Oxford, Cambridge, and London placed an increasing emphasis on analysis over broad-brush historical explication or life-and-works historiography, Bach's large-scale liturgical music for choir and orchestra appeared with greater frequency in the syllabus of examined works.[57] One leader in the development of this self-consciously academic approach to music-making, steeped in counterpoint and formalism, was Hubert Parry (1848–1918), who served both as director of the Royal College of Music (1895–1918) and as Heather Professor of Music at Oxford (1900–08). His views on music, solidly entrenched in a canonical and German-centred chain of great composers stretching from Bach through Beethoven to Brahms, bore the influence of both the formalist aesthetics of Hanslick and the pianistic education of Edward Dannreuther.[58] Parry is a representative of the conservative tendency in the British musical establishment, discussed by Matthew Riley,[59] which was suspicious, if not hostile, to musical innovations. This is particularly evident in the musical idiom encountered in Parry's compositions: his *Grand Duo* for two pianos 'shows the influence of J.S. Bach so strongly that, were it not for the grotesque fugal subject of the last movement,

55. Golding 2013: 22.

56. For example, Golding reports that when applying for the professorship in Edinburgh, George French Flowers 'offered his own Bachian fugues as "the greatest evidence that [he could] compose in the severest of styles", thereby asserting technical competency in music. (Ibid.: 22, n. 34).

57. Ibid.: 87; 222–23.

58. Dibble 1999: 49; Parry 1981: 425.

59. Riley 2010.

it could be mistaken for an original work by Bach himself, brilliantly arranged for the modern piano'.[60]

That formalist aesthetics held such sway in British musical circles requires one to account for another element of cross-channel traffic that had shaped Bach reception in Britain throughout its entire course, namely the dissemination and translation of texts. There was a distinct heterogeneity within British musical culture. Musicology as a discipline did not completely come of age until the early decades of the twentieth century. Vincent Duckles observes that 'Musicology' appeared in the English-language lexicon much later than 'Musikwissenschaft' or 'musicologie' on the continent. Contributing to the general impression of stagnation was that the canonical status accorded to the celebrated histories of Burney and Hawkins had the unintended consequence of discouraging wholesale reassessments of the immediate musical past: many general histories were either surreptitiously or avowedly updated versions of the eighteenth-century originals for a new audience;[61] the originals remained central parts of the reading lists at Oxford until 1874.[62] Furthermore, a characteristic concern with practical over scientific matters kept musical scholarship in England concentrated on immediately score-based procedures. 'Even Edward Dent', writes Duckles,

> who probably did more to stimulate musical research in British universities than any other individual, referred to musicology somewhat contemptuously as 'musical excavation'. The truth of the matter is that Englishmen, in their thought about music, have always taken a greater interest in the *artistic* than in the *scientific* aspect of their discipline. They have never ceased to regard music as a realm of concrete experience, not a field for philosophical speculation.[63]

Even when this began to change with two landmark undertakings that signalled the maturity of British musical scholarship – George Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (the first edition of which was begun in 1878 and finished in 1889) and the *Oxford History of Music* (1901) – the collaborative involvement of émigrés and continental correspondents in these projects highlights how cosmopolitanism was built into the most defining institutions and texts by the end of the Victorian era. Contributors to the first *Grove* included Dannreuther, Alfred Dörffel (who edited several volumes of the Bach Gesellschaft edition), and Ernst Pauer (originally from Germany and, like Dannreuther,

60. Parry 1981: 425.

61. Duckles 1981: 490–91.

62. Golding 2013: 72.

63. Duckles 1981: 483–84. Italics in the original.

professor at the Royal College of Music). By the way, this relationship was reciprocal: the example most conspicuously relevant to Bach is that Grove sat on the committee of the Bach Gesellschaft.[64] Such was the state of the musical elite in Britain that in a letter dated 1898, Dannreuther mused on leaving German quotations untranslated in an article he was preparing, assuming that the readership would understand it.[65]

When, as was mentioned above, A. F. C. Kollmann settled in London and translated Nikolaus Forkel's biography of Bach into English in 1820,[66] he established a pattern that would long continue. Numerous key texts such as Spitta's and Forkel's biographies,[67] but also Hugo Riemann's analyses of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*'s fugues and his treatise on counterpoint, were translated from German to English, presumably responding to a substantial demand. Stephen Banfield notes how the ideas of Hanslick on the musically beautiful resonated in Britain, and how formalist criteria informed and nurtured scholarship in Britain. He designates publications such as James Sully's article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on 'Aesthetics' as examples of this.[68]

Arriving at the dawn of the twentieth century and nearing the upheavals of the First World War, one may ask what literature had common currency among enthusiasts of Bach's music and professional musicians. What was the dominant way of thinking about Bach that performers and editors in the following chapters may have encountered? As has been seen, the course of Bach reception in Britain is too heterogeneous to provide a definitive answer, but an annotated bibliography left by Percy Scholes, who came of age in this time, may provide insight. Among the works that would have been in print by 1920, Scholes lists Parry's monograph and his *Studies of Great Composers*; biographies by C.F.A. Williams, Albert Schweitzer, Spitta, and Forkel; and finally analyses by Riemann, Iliffe, and Prout.[69] This list bears witness to a close familiarity with the developments of Bach scholarship on the continent. For example, in the concert programme accompanying the earliest British performance of the Second English Suite BWV 807 on 18 February 1893,the

64. BGA 41.1: iii.

65. Letter from Edward Dannreuther to F. G. Edwards, 14 August 1898. ff 111–112. Edwards Papers, Vol. 5. Add MS 41574, British Library.

66. Duckles 1981: 498.

67. Charles Stanford Terry's translation of Forkel's *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Life, Art, and Work*, published with addenda by Terry, was widely read (See Forkel [1802] 1920 in the Bibliography).

68. Banfield 1981b: 460–62.

69. Percy Scholes Fonds, Box 5, Folder 'Bach 2.2'. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

first 'port of call' for the writer of the programme note was the 'Life & Works' biography of Philip Spitta:

> Bach is not only the last great composer of Suites; he is also the greatest, the perfecter of this form in every way; after him there was nothing more to said in the form of clavier suites.[70]

Furthermore, the books of Continental authors are accompanied by British authors whose works bear the influence of cross-channel exchanges. As remarked by Catherine Dale, the analyses of Ebenezer Prout, enjoying wide circulation in late nineteenth-century Britain, owed much to Hugo Riemann. Furthermore, the historical work of Williams and Parry unquestionably bore the influence of Schweitzer, Spitta, and Forkel, who remained towering figures of Bach scholarship well into the twentieth century.[71]

Concert Culture and Taste

The inaugural issue of the *Revue musicale* in November 1920 provides a tantalising, though impressionistic, description of London's concert culture. The monthly publication, accounting primarily for the musical events of Paris and the French provinces, included articles from correspondents in most of the world's musical capitals. In later dispatches from London, British critic L. Dunton Green would normally summarise salient performances and premieres, but the first issue contained a general survey of London's musical life written by an outsider, Georges Jean-Aubry.[72] In it, he described the concert-going audiences of London shortly after the First World War:

> [Here is] a public caught between its taste for the sweet candy of '*ballads*', for the conservatism of Brahms's followers, the everyday brilliancy of 'scriabinism', and the flavoursome acidity of stravinskyism, and which often manages to manifest, within a single person, an equal appreciation for all those tendencies without concern for their disparity. The very sight of these programmes is a disconcerting one. In the plethora of concerts that floods London from September to June, there is hardly a single one that reflects a decisive choice: works are piled together for obscure reasons, but with the certainty that they will 'behave' side by side, like *gentlemen* and *ladies* at tea time.[73]

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70. Monday Popular Concert, 18 February 1893: 14. Percy Scholes Fonds. Box 172 'Programmes 5: London. Crystal Palace, 1896-1901; St. James's Hall, 1892-1894'. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

71. Dale 1999: 271.

72. Critic, poet, and translator, friend of Ravel and Debussy, Jean-Aubry lived in London from 1918 to 1930, during which time he edited *The Chesterian* (Davies & Moore 2008: xlv).

73. 'Un public partagé entre des goûts pour la sucrerie des « ballads », pour le conservatisme des imitateurs de Brahms, la génialité quotidienne du « scriabinisme », et les savoureuses acidités

This eyewitness account was recorded at the close of the period considered in this chapter and encapsulates a concert culture defined by its eclecticism. Edward Dannreuther ventures a similar assessment of his adoptive country's concert culture:

> Under the bewildering complications of English life, with the enormous wealth and the closely packed population possessing every degree of culture and non-culture, ambiguous elements of course exist in plenty and are inevitable. There is much vapid and sentimental stuff to be heard in churches and concert-rooms; and now and then one may even come across downright vulgarity at theatres and music-halls. Free trade in theatrical matters has encouraged the importation of a mass of deleterious rubbish from Paris and elsewhere, and speculation upon whatever of vulgar tendency there may be is perhaps more rife latterly than it has ever been before; yet the true and good lives on for all that, and the type remains high-hearted and intelligent as it always has been. In some respects it might be feared that English civilization is absorbing music, good, bad, and indifferent, far too rapidly and indiscriminately.[74]

It is because of this context of wild pluralism that one should be cautious about drawing categorical conclusions. There is limited insight to be uncovered in the discussion of a highly informed and expert readership, which could have been relied upon to have a commanding grasp of Bach's life and work; on the other hand, one may not speak of a genuinely 'popular' understanding of Bach until the twentieth century. For all the missionary work accomplished by the generations of Wesley, Goldschmidt, and Dannreuther, the assessment of Burney, especially as it pertained to the comparison between Bach and Handel, continued to echo well into the twentieth century.[75] Williams offers an attempt at a middle-ground view, writing in 1900 that

> Bach is perhaps best known in England at present by his organ works, which are familiar to all competent organists, and his violin solos, which Herr Joachim has done so much to propagate. The *Wohltemperirte Clavier* [note the German designation] is a household word to every earnest musician, and his *Passions* of *St Matthew* and *St John,* besides the *Christmas Oratorio* and a few cantatas, are frequently performed in London churches.[76]

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du strawinskisme, et qui parvient souvent à montrer, dans une seule personne, un goût égal pour ces tendances, sans égard au disparate. La seule vue de ces programmes suffit bien souvent à déconcerter. Dans cette pléthore de concerts dont Londres est submergé, de septembre à juin, il n'est presque pas un programme qui reflète un choix décisif : les œuvres y sont placées ensemble pour des fins obscures, avec la certitude qu'elles se « tiendront bien » l'une à côté de l'autre, comme des gentlemen et des ladies à l'heure du thé.' *Revue Musicale,* November 1920: 67; my translation. Italicised words are given in English in the original.

74. *The Musical Times*, May 1904: 303. My italics.

75. See Newman (1935) 1956.

76. Williams 1900: 143.

The significance to be found in this material is contextualised by an article appearing much later in the chronology. In 1936, F.H. Shera opined that

> In any discussion of the popularity of Bach it is important to bear in mind that there is not one Bach but several: the Bach of B minor Mass; the Lutheran composer of the Passions, Church Cantatas, and Chorale Preludes; the virtuoso writer of Fugues for the organ; the genial Bach of the Concertos and orchestral pieces; the intimate, domestic Bach of the '48' and other keyboard music.[77]

As has been seen in Jeffrey Sposato's example, the Bach of devout Lutherans cannot be identical to the Bach encountered when Sterndale Bennett conducted the *St Matthew Passion* in 1854. This brings into sharp focus an issue that will run through the coming chapters: at the turn of the twentieth century, the nature of Bach was changing – and not just in Britain. As will be seen, the suites of dances, previously relegated to secondary status by the fugues and liturgical works, began to be performed with greater frequency both in Britain and on the continent. The repercussions of these explorations in the repertoire had after-effects on the very nature of Bach's idiom as it came to be popularly understood.

Henry Wood's 'Promenade Concerts' would act as a crucial catalyst for building a popular understanding of the composer around the orchestral suites, Brandenburg concertos, and solo concertos. As Hannah French observed: 'the Proms provided the ideal platform for integrating the orchestral repertoire into mainstream concert programmes'.[78] Coinciding roughly with the turn of the twentieth century, Wood began by introducing orchestral arrangements, then solo concertos, paving the way for numerous and popularly received performances of the Brandenburg concertos and suites for orchestra.[79] Inevitably the horizon of expectation of early twentieth-century listeners would have been subtly changed as a result of events such as the Proms and the resulting greater exposure to the Bach of the lively suite and concerto.

77. *The Listener*, 26 August 1936: 411.

78. French 2014: 195.

79. Ibid.: 196.

Timeless, Universal… German?

Reception of Bach's music cannot be completely divorced from considerations about nationality, but has an ambiguous status in these considerations. This situation is complicated further by his appeal in both artistic and ethical terms to an intellectualised understanding of music, as in the case of Parry, Stanford, or Stainer – musicians who were concerned with values of craftsmanship and proficiency with contrapuntal compositional techniques. There is a sense in which the Bach–Handel dichotomy discussed above intersects with this. Hence there is a divide not only along lines of nationality, but also on lines of high-brow and middle-brow, which will be discussed below.

The experience of the First World War merits closer attention. It prompted widespread dismay among musicians in Britain. As seen above, this milieu had been comparatively cosmopolitan and especially Germanophile throughout the nineteenth century, so the conflict forced it to reflect on this predilection. The disillusion was felt particularly painfully by Hubert Parry, whose oeuvre and artistic values owed so much to the inheritance of Brahms, Beethoven, and Bach. Speaking in September 1914 to the students and staff at the Royal College of Music, Parry said:

> We cannot help recalling the splendid hexameter in our English version of Isaiah, 'How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!' This is the German nation which in former times was glorified by producing some of the noblest minds that shone in the world of art. Heinrich Schütz, Johann Sebastian Bach, Handel, Gluck, Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms – the nation which has produced great poets, great philosophers, great scientists, great scholars, great inventors of things which have benefited humanity to the utmost. And now it falls painfully to our lot to see them commit the most gigantic crime that has ever been perpetrated by a nation in history.[80]

Some strongly symbolic changes took place that suggest a collective disaffection with all things Teutonic: in the musical landscape of London, the renaming of Bechstein Hall was as emblematic of the wartime anti-German sentiment as was George V's repudiation[81] of the royal family's German titles as members of the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Bechstein Hall, a prominent concert venue, had opened in 1901 as an extension of the German piano maker's showroom on Wigmore Street. As enemy property, it was sold at auction in 1916 and reopened in January 1917 as Wigmore Hall under the ownership of

80. Parry 1920: 220–21.

81. *The Times*, 18 July 1917: 6.

Debenham's, a department store.[82] The effects of these changes endure today: the concert hall, under its new name, remains one of the city's premier concert venues; the 'rebooted' House of Windsor continues to reign. However, it bears mentioning that the status of German music on British concert stages was hotly contested throughout the conflict, and that, behind strong symbols such as these, lies a complex reality.

Rumours of a backlash against the enemy's music seem to have been ignited by an episode that took place shortly after the outbreak of war. A traditional practice at the Promenade Concerts had been to devote emphasis to different repertoires on different evenings of the week: Monday nights tended to feature Wagner, Fridays were 'classical', Tuesdays and Thursdays had more 'popular' programmes, and Wednesdays included 'a Brahms or Tchaikovsky Symphony, or an extra Beethoven Symphony.'[83] New works seem to have been interspersed regularly among these evenings. On 17 August 1914 an all-Wagner programme was replaced by one comprising mostly French and Russian music.[84] This was widely commented upon, even internationally: although *The New York Times* relayed the denials from the Queen's Hall management that a ban was being implemented, the dispatch began with speculation that 'one of the consequences of the war would be a boycott of all German music in London.'[85] German newspapers would later report such bans as incontrovertible fact. *The Times*'s column 'Through German Eyes', consisting of translated excerpts from the German press, reprinted a dispatch from the *Hamburger Nachrichten* stating that 'censorship has absolutely forbidden … all public performances not only of Wagner, but also the other German composers. Bach, Händel, and Schumann fell under the censorship'.[86] Robert Newman, writing on behalf of the concert hall's management, emphatically denied these rumours: 'the substitution of a mixed programme in the place of a wholly Wagnerian one was not dictated by any narrow-minded intolerant policy, but was the result of outside pressure brought to bear

82. Tunbridge 2013: 58.

83. *The Musical Times*, August 1914: 513.

84. *The Musical Times*, September 1914: 589. Works by Tchaikovsky, Debussy, Rimsky-Korsakov, Saint-Saëns, Gounod, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Frances Allitsen, Frederic Clay, and Elgar comprised the programme, which began with God Save the King and ended with the Marseillaise.

    See https://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/events/by/date/1914 (accessed 17 July 2020).

85. *The New York Times*, 20 August 1914: 4.

86. *The Times,* 15 February 1915: 6.

upon [us] at the eleventh hour by the lessees of the Queens Hall.'[87] Speculation appeared in the next issue of the *Musical Times* that fears of 'a demonstration by non-musical super-patriots' had prompted this act of self-censorship.[88]

Another factor was straightforwardly material. There was concern over the payment of copyright to German publishing houses, which curtailed performances of living composers. Langley writes that this influenced programming considerations at the Promenade concerts: eschewing 'works that would have produced fees for "enemy" publishers (e.g. by Mahler or Strauss, much of Bartók, and the symphonies of Sibelius) – [Henry Wood] sought alternative sources through British, American, French, Belgian, Spanish, Russian, Finnish, Swiss, Italian and Australian networks'.[89] Material concerns such as this inevitably acquired nationalist connotations as the conflict wore on. One notable dispute over the payment of performance fees between Isodore de Lara and the Performing Rights Society led to an open meeting in Steinway Hall in April 1917, which was attended by composers and the representatives of publishing houses and concert halls. A motion proposed by de Lara and seconded by Jean-Aubry[90] deplored how 'favourable to the renewed propaganda of German music, is the friction existing between the P.R.S. and the concert halls in London'.[91] One of the solutions to this problem was a renewed interest in 'classics', a category in which Handel, Beethoven, and Mozart would have had pride of place, but which increasingly featured Bach. Langley adds, concerning the Proms:

> [Wood's] interest in J.S. Bach above all – some of the Brandenburgs had been heard at the Proms since 1905, other concertos and instrumental works earlier – … helped to sow the seeds of a Bach cult at the Proms. Quite against the first opinions of people like [Rosa] Newmarch and [Robert] Newman,[92] who thought promoting Bach was a retrograde step (they associated his music with pedantic Victorian organ recitals and oratorio culture, even with bitter medicine to be taken to make one better), this composer turned out to be what many listeners wanted after the devastation of war, and after Tchaikovsky and Strauss had lost their flash.[93]

87. *The Saturday Review*, 22 August 1914: 223.
88. *The Musical Times*, September 1914: 589.
89. Langley 2007: 70.
90. See note 72 in this chapter.
91. *The Musical Times*, May 1917: 207; *The Musical Herald*, 1 May 1917: 141.
92. Not to be confused with critic Ernest Newman.
93. Langley 2007: 70. See also Rosa Newmarch, 'Four Phases of the Promenade Concerts', typescript, 1927, Henry Wood Papers, British Library Add. MS 56442, fols. 21, 24.

Contradictory information circulated about programming. When announcing the Promenade Concerts of 1915, the *Athenaeum* stated that the 'no German music will be performed'.[94] However, upon examination of the programme archive, works by Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Brahms, and Wagner were performed in the first week alone.[95] The standard for acceptable concert music was subtly revised when the London Symphony Orchestra announced its October 1915 to May 1916 concert season, in which 'no music later than Brahms figures in the programme.'[96] There was undoubtedly anti-German sentiment, but this position by no means attracted unanimity, especially among professional musicians and connoisseurs. An article in the *Saturday Review* denounced the continued use of German music in incendiary and populist terms, juxtaposing it with fears of sedition from within and war from without:

> Our Academy and our colleges have German music still for their training. I make no doubt that Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms still rule these establishments, despite the slaughter of our race and the sly antics of our German residents and the colossal brutality of the German nation.[97]

However, the editor received letters about this article for almost two months, many of which reacted to those of previous correspondents.[98]

For many in the British musical establishment, one justification, with important consequences was advanced for the continued attention given to the composers at the 1915 Proms: that 'the classics' had nothing to do with modern, Prussian-dominated Germany. The merits of this claim are neither here nor there, but it was couched in terms that stand to clarify the thought process of those who defended it. Parry's 1914 address lamented a recent fall from grace by an admired culture more than it reflects any enmity:

> We used to laugh at their much-vaunted philosopher Nietzsche for the concentrated essence of bitter spite which he expressed. We stared in bewildered incredulity at the textbooks of their War-lords, and thought it impossible that such things could really be meant by any human being, however grossly perverted. Many of us thought they were mere eccentric individual aberrations, not in any way representative of the general opinion and feeling of the nation.[99]

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94. *The Athenaeum*, 22 May 1915: 474.
95. See https://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/events/by/date/1915 (accessed 17 July 2020).
96. *The Musical Times*, October 1915: 618.
97. *The Saturday Review*, 21 October 1916: 386; 28 October 1916: 408–9.
98. *The Saturday Review*, 4 November 1916: 436–7; 11 November 1916: 458–9; 18 November 1916: 480–1; 25 November 1916: 505–6; 2 Dec 1916: 531; 9 December 1916: 551–2; 16 December 1916: 575.
99. Parry 1920: 221–22.

Charles Villiers Stanford rejected claims that even Wagner and Brahms should be connected to the conflict:

> These composers are in reality the last representatives of the German classical school. Wagner, the descendant of Gluck and Weber; Brahms, the descendant of Beethoven and Schumann. Neither had anything typical of modern Prussianised Germany about him… To identify the 'frightfulness' of Strauss and the mass formations of Reger with either of them is an insult to them and to their work for musical art.[100]

Edward Bairstow vociferously defended the use of music by Wagner and Mozart during military services in York Minster.[101] There was a certain nostalgia for the former Germany that the cultivated milieu of Britain imagined in its newspaper articles, letters to the editor, and obituaries. Upon the death of Robert von Mendelssohn[102] in 1917, the *Times* wrote:

> It is only right, even at this juncture, when feeling is so keen, and every one across the Rhine under the same dark cloud, to recall a genial, kindly, and artistic personality, who was the friend of so many of Germany's best – Clara Schumann, Joachim, and Brahms – none of whom, happily, lived to see the wreck of their ideals.[103]

In some respects, the animus was more potently directed at living German composers, especially Max Reger. Harvey Grace echoed this dissociation between a twentieth-century Germany to be resisted and a nineteenth-century Germany to be remembered admiringly. Comparing editions of Bach's organ works, Grace castigates Karl Straube's copious and fanciful editorial interventions in a new edition, especially his choice of registration, while comparing it to the prelapsarian sobriety of the editors who had prepared the Bach Gesellschaft volumes some fifty years earlier and those of the early Peters editions:

> It is a far cry from the plain pages of the earlier Bach editors, such as Kroll, Griepenkerl, and Roitzsch, to these misty impertinences. We may be amused at some of them, but we close the volume with an uneasy feeling that Straubism has its tragic side. Viewing it in conjunction with the megalomania shown in modern German organ music, especially in that of Reger and the later examples of Karg-Elert, we see unmistakable signs of the frantic egoism and over-emphasis that are the ultimate cause of the present war.[104]

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100. *The Musical Times*, October 1915: 599.

101. *The Musical Herald*, 1 July 1915: 326.

102. Banker, philanthropist, and distant cousin of Fanny and Felix Mendelssohn. Reading this obituary, due consideration should be given to the prominence of the Mendelssohn family more generally as an emblem of Berlin's enlightened and cultivated high bourgeoisie.

103. *The Times*, 27 August 1917: 9.

104. *The Musical Times*, March 1918: 111. The title of the article was 'How not to Edit Bach'. Care should be taken to contextualise statements such as Grace's. His denunciation of Straube's

In some sense, then, the 'virtuous' figures, whether composers or editors, can be said to have a subtly different 'German-ness' than, for example Max Reger, Karl Straube, or other living musicians of the then contemporary *Deutschtum.* Reger's obituaries in Britain were ambivalent about his music: 'Neither Strauss nor Reger has kept free from the arrogance and inflation of style which is one unfortunate product of the worship of the Faust spirit in German culture, and in Reger's music especially it has brought an admixture of ugliness which does much to prejudice the public mind against a wholehearted appreciation of his merits.[105] The *Times* added that the news 'will not cause any very widespread sense of loss among musical people in this country.'[106] Another critic opined that 'it is melancholy to recognise in such contemporary German music the debased outlines of former dignity.'[107]

Supporting the dissociation between dead composers and living enemies was a rhetorical stance that placed the music of a certain group of composers outside the purview of patriotism or protectionism. Although Henry Wood stated 'I have no use for modern German music', he continued by reminding readers that 'the great masters, of course, will live for ever, and must be played'.[108] Bairstow warned that 'to deny ourselves all the music of such giants as Bach, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms, and Wagner would mean that we should lose the very best and noblest creations of the art.'[109] Responding in the summer of 1914 to calls for a boycott, Robert Newman added that 'the greatest examples of music and art *are world possessions* and unassailable.'[110] Another anonymous correspondent, whose tone reflects the preoccupation of this milieu,

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expressive maximalism may seem curious today, given the prevalence of ostensibly similar maximalist approaches well into the twentieth century in Britain. A suitable assessment of organ playing is well beyond the remit of this chapter. However, it is worth noting that in his other writings, Grace tolerated and even encouraged the use of many expressive performance strategies such as flexibility in tempo, but showed reservations about emphatic registration like Straube's: 'Frequent changes of colour or power more often than not merely break the flow. Even the climaxes are to a considerable extent in the music itself, and need little in the way of additional tone. Indeed, where they result from an increased closeness of texture they may easily be spoiled by mere power. Rather will they be helped by a very gradual change of pace, though whether this should be a quickening or a slackening must be decided by the character or mood of the music.' (Grace 1922b: 283–84).

105. *The Manchester Guardian*, 13 May 1916: 6.
106. *The Times*, 13 May 1916: 9.
107. *The Observer*, 7 March 1915: 6.
108. *The Observer,* 2 June 1918: 7.
109. *The Musical Herald*, 1 July 1915: 326.
110. *The Saturday Review*, 22 August 1914: 223. My Italics.

described German music as 'heritage that should be common to the race', adding that 'it has nothing to do with the present turmoil; it will outlive jingoism and junkerdom.'[111]

In what could heuristically be called elite music-making, there was no eclipse to speak of for the works of composers as late as the generation Wagner and Brahms. It might even be possible to speculate that due to the copyright issue mentioned above, the dead composers of Germany were performed, if anything, more. Certain prominent performances during the war merit mention. In April 1915, a nearly week-long festival devoted to Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms was organised in the Queen's Hall. It included two of Bach's orchestral suites, three instrumental concertos, the Mass in B minor, as well as arias from the cantatas. Suggesting the gargantuan scale of the undertaking, the closing concert involved Brahms's *Requiem,* paired with Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Noting the high attendance and enthusiastic reception, reviewers surmised that 'the British concertgoer regards the three "B"s as a precious personal possession.'[112]

Lastly, the Bach Passions were performed regularly throughout the war at Passiontide. The *St Matthew Passion* was performed in Westminster Abbey in 1915 and 1918.[113] The *St John Passion* was performed there in 1916.[114] And in 1917, an unspecified 'Bach Passion music' was performed in St Paul's Cathedral.[115] Both of these churches were powerful symbols of London's civic and religious life: to have Bach regularly performed there dispels any suggestion that there was wartime resentment. The *St John Passion* of 1916 is especially revealing of Bach's music having been 'adopted' in British musical culture, as the performance was bookended by chorale preludes on the organ by Hubert Parry, including one on the tune of 'O God our Help in Ages Past'.

Once again, these insights – the temporally localised insights of early twentieth-century musicians – are the result not of innate or natural features of the music but of interpretive acts – more importantly, performance acts. It would not be surprising, then, for Bach's German-ness to be understood or performed differently in Britain than in Germany. This may have been accompanied by a search for different repertoires, such as the suites for keyboard or orchestra, different performance approaches to counter the

111. *The Manchester Guardian,* 19 August 1914: 3.

112. *The Musical Times,* June 1915: 360.

113. *The Times,* 27 March 1915: 11; *The Times,* 25 March 1918: 5.

114. *The Times,* 15 April 1916: 5.

115. *The Times,* 27 March 1917: 11.

expressively maximalist 'Straubism' denounced by Grace for its association with the aggressive megalomania of the Second Reich, or yet the act of subsuming Bach into institutions and practices that were either more neutral, such as the conservatoire and the university, or more natively British, such as the choral society. Thus, Bach could join more acceptable figures such as Handel and Mendelssohn. This constitutes evidence that during the First World War, attempts were made by musicians in Britain to remove Bach, along with the other composers of the 'great classics', from contemporary considerations of national identity. It is not a stretch to posit that this contributed to an understanding of this repertoire as removed from time and place, in favour of one that was universal: Bach was plucked out of the day-to-day realities of a war against Germany *by the process itself* of essentialising his music as timeless and universal.

Bach: Learned and Popular

The putative boundaries related to national identity intersected with those related to class and artistic taste.[116] Wilson notes that 'arguments in the 1920s about cultural categorisation … were underpinned by competing visions of what it meant to be British.'[117] Furthermore, the immediate postwar years saw the popularisation of a version that was 'healthy, hearty, sporting, and anti-intellectual'.[118] In this trend, Bach's music was as much championed by proponents of highbrow culture as he was decried by the instigators of this populist challenge. The comparison with Handel is often invoked: 'In England, we say Handel is popular, Bach requires cultivated taste'.[119]

Where, in the wartime Proms, figures such as Rosa Newmarch viewed Bach as a Victorian relic, he was acclaimed in the interwar era for a completely different set of qualities. Hubert Foss wrote in 1933:

> There are other great masters besides Bach; Mozart, for example, yet the Brandenburg concertos have more appeal than all but the three greatest of the symphonies. There is no doubt that the music suits us. Handel was more static, while we today like dynamic, rhythmic drive. The complicated invention of Bach's counterpoint his ornamentation that is never extraneous, fits in with our

116. The intersection of these boundaries is discussed extensively in Chapters 3 and 7 of Wilson 2019.

117. Wilson 2019: 181

118. Ibid.: 71.

119. *The Music Student* [1912?]: 319. This is from an undated press clipping in the Percy Scholes Fonds, box 5, folder 'Bach 3.1'.

> aural taste. When he is contemplative, he is introspective, and his sadness is akin to our post-war nostalgia. The perfection of his logic and the persistence of development in his mental process satisfy our inquiring age. His harmonic sense is far more elaborate than Handel's: Bach continually made exquisite points of harmony by his clashing counterpoints, and richly colours his music with them.[120]

The cache of annotated press clippings in Percy Scholes's collection is informative, as it contains evidence that Bach's music was revered enough for his detractors to style themselves as protesters. It contains a letter to *The Daily Telegraph* by a Rev. E. L. MacAssey, dated 31 December 1935, complaining about the BBC's imposition of 'the inevitable Bach' on 'ordinary people, i.e. the majority of music lovers'. The correspondent continues by deploring the monotony of recitatives in the *Passions,* adding:

> On an English audience, their effect is boresome in the extreme… The fact is that our national taste in music is for harmony as opposed to fugue… Our English musical tradition is one that we have no reason to decry, and I hope that the B.B.C. will this year deliver us from the boredom of Bach. It is possible to educate a choir, but the good, solid English congregation still persists in its love of tuneful things.[121]

Amusingly, Scholes scrawled into the margin 'please poison him' in heavy capital letters.[122] MacAssey's *cri de coeur* about Bach is articulated here in terms that combine a repudiation of the national broadcaster's strongly educationalist agenda[123] and an appeal to the innate soundness of an *English* congregation's preferences. This can be understood as a reaction that combines culturally populist and nationalist justifications.

This set of preoccupations is evident in another intervention, which complained of the hijacking of this repertoire for the purpose of justifying contemporary musical innovations. On the one hand it reminds one of wider concerns about the uses of historicism in musical history as alluded to in chapter 1;[124] on the other, MacAssey's implications of anti-intellectualism are articulated explicitly:

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120. *The Radio Times,* 15 September 1933.

121. *The Daily Telegraph*, 1 January 1936.

122. Percy Scholes Fonds, Box 5, Folder 'Bach 2.2'. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

123. 'For Reith, broadcasting had the potential to become a huge national asset – a means of diffusing knowledge and culture to all throughout society rather than just for the privileged' (Dibbs 2019: 16–17). See also Doctor 1999: 28; Reith 1924.

124. 'Modern revolutionaries differ from rebels of earlier centuries in that they are 'historicists': they consider history 'producible' and proceed from the premise that religion, culture and the state … are 'historical through and through' to the conclusion that the mutability spoken of by historians can also be put into practice.' (Dahlhaus [1977] 1983: 8). See also § 'Historicism and the Situation in Music' (Gombrich [1965] 1979: 89–92).

> If the truth is to be told it is that Bach affords a precedent to those who would 'intellectualise' music and turn an Art into a jargon of meaningless noises, just as Shakespeare is being adapted by the wise men in Moscow for the purpose of political propaganda. A whole evening of Bach concertos is too much; and yet it is all for propaganda, to prepare our minds for the cheap blastings of some of our contemporaries who would make music an intellectual problem instead of an enjoyment. Lastly it is the work of the snobocrats that has elevated Bach to the position he enjoys today. Bach will never find favour with the masses; so the snobs have claimed him as their own.'[125]

In some ways, Bach reveals a certain fragmentation of what was considered popular. Curiously, just as Bach's music was increasingly celebrated in settings such as the Promenade Concerts, the BBC, and events such as Harold Samuel's 'Bach Weeks', discussed in Chapter 3, some of the reactions seem to appear because of, rather than in spite of Bach's popularity with a certain kind of listener: Percy Scholes kept a clipping[126] that reported on a transgressive, semi-humorous Anti-Bach Society, founded in protest at the unquestioning admiration laid on his music in cultivated circles.[127] Scholes, however, was a vocal supporter of a movement which aimed to demystify Bach's music for the general public, termed the 'music appreciation movement'.[128] This pursuit harnessed many novel technologies: in addition to more traditional programme notes for concerts, he wrote similar documents for piano rolls and spoken scripts for broadcasting.

Contrasting with the stern, intellectual, or even snobbish stereotypes found in the sources above, Scholes's characterisation is forthrightly couched in accessible terms:

> This music, now two centuries old, is as living today as it was when first composed. Theorists may discuss it in technical terms, but, forgetting these, the least instructed of music-lovers may enjoy what the world's greatest composer has provided him, if only he listens attentively, first to a very simple explanation and then to the music itself.[129]

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125. Undated press clipping from *The Music Lover* in the Percy Scholes Fonds, box 5, folder 'Bach 3.1'.

126. *The Nottingham Guardian*: 18 November 1932.

127. Rules of the society included '(1) Members must leave the hall during the performance of any Bach composition, or else "register the strongest disapproval by demeanour." (2) Portraits of Bach to be turned face to the wall or upside down. (3) Any member compelled to play Bach is to play at least one wrong note in every bar, and to make as many wrong entries as possible. N.B. this rule is not infrequently observed, inadvertently, by the Bach enthusiast! (4) The name Bach is to be pronounced "Batch."' (Percy Scholes Fonds, Box 5, Folder 'Bach 3.1'. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa).

128. Scaife 1994: 33.

129. Scholes c. 1925: § 'Bach as Everybody's Composer'.

He then labels the subject (Scholes prefers 'chief tune' in this setting), and two countersubjects with the terms 'laughing tune', 'hammering tune', and 'fluttering tune', and a moment-to-moment description of the permutations of the three 'tunes' as the fugue unfolds appears on the roll itself as it is played.[130] This is but one effort to dispel the stereotypes of Bach seen above.

Why Reception?

Perceptions of Bach's music as they evolved in Britain were marked by successive shifts in emphasis on and interest in different aspects of his repertoire:

- The organ and other 'Klavier' works in the case of the first revival under the auspices of Wesley and Horn.
- Then, closer to the mid-century, the oratorios and liturgical works, following on from Mendelssohn's influence and capitalising on the popularity of the choral society as a social phenomenon.
- The contrapuntal craftsmanship upheld in the values of the new conservatoires in the second half of the century.
- In the early twentieth, the renewed interest in the orchestral works, concertos and suites of dances.

These categories are of course not monolithic, nor are they non-overlapping, but there is a case for describing shifts in *emphasis.* Considering that the performers of the 1920s and 1930s came out of this background – inevitably perpetuating some of its assumptions whilst discarding others – it is possible to illuminate their performances if one devotes thought to the kinds of repertoire that were in musicians' ears and on their minds. As an example of how such an illumination may work, I turn to a musician who is not British, but whose influence was felt so strongly in this time that any discussion of early twentieth-century Bach performance could not fail to mention him – Ferruccio Busoni. His case is of interest because, due to his prolific editing, transcribing, and writing about Bach, Busoni was much less coy about his imaginative vocabulary than the British performers examined later in this dissertation.

Busoni's reworked edition of Bach's *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue* BWV 903 is illustrative enough that it merits a brief digression. Although occasionally described as a

130. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awY2vXG1tOI (accessed 3 August 2020).

piano transcription,[131] it confronts this category with unsettling ontological ambiguities. In this edition, Busoni makes explicit something which had hitherto remained implicit: that performing harpsichord works on a modern piano necessitated a process akin to transcription.[132] It should be remembered that Busoni used many different terms to describe his editions, reserving 'Bearbeitung' (loosely translating as 'reworking', 'revision', or 'adaptation') for editions of the harpsichord or lute works that integrate recommendations for pianistic performance, and 'Übertragung' (having stronger connotations of translation or paraphrase) for more interventionist transcriptions of the violin and organ works.[133] This 'Bearbeitung' displays many of the characteristic devices of the romantic piano transcription – elements such as thickened chords or octave doublings. However, a reception-oriented account of the kind that I am suggesting can contribute clarifications about what motivated such operations. Busoni explains his thought process using various paratexts in the score such as footnotes and performance indications. The examples that I invoke involve evidence of Busoni 'hearing' this harpsichord work *through* the imaginative traits of different instruments.

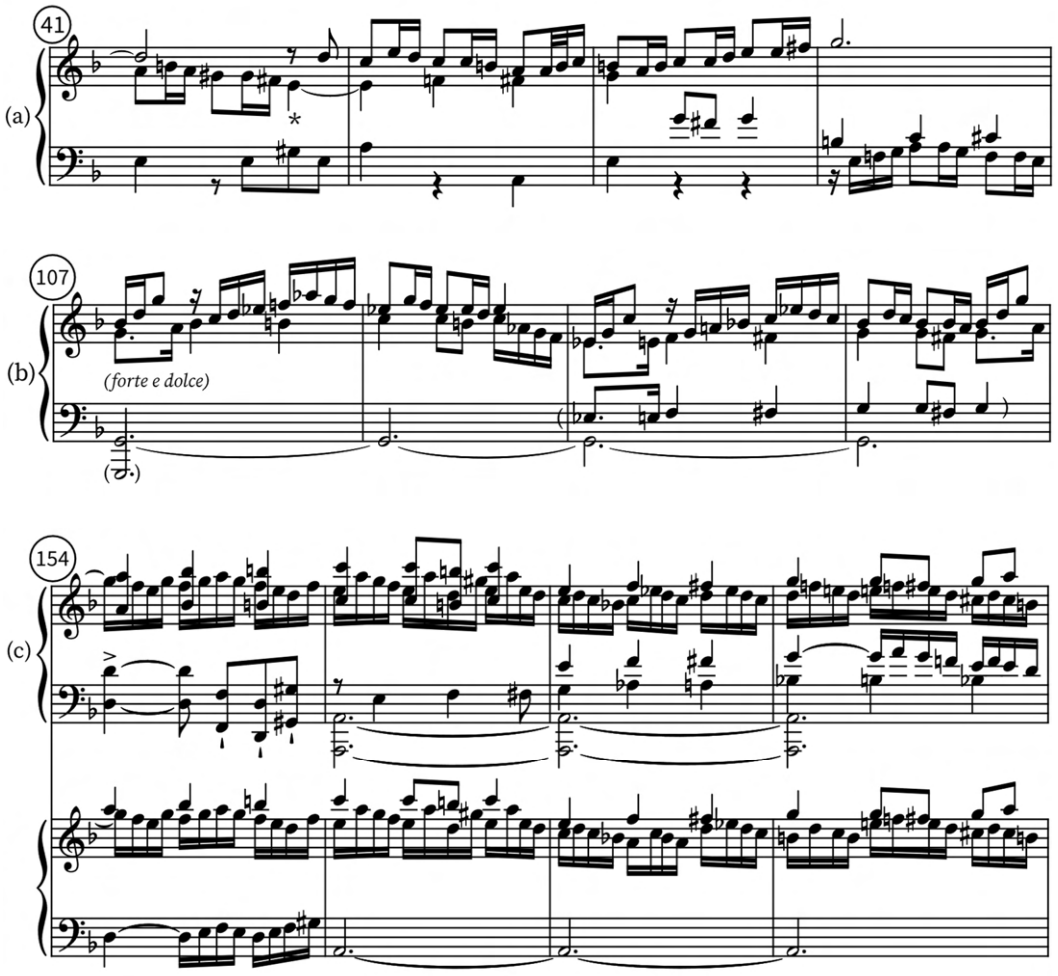
Octave doublings are applied not only to bass lines, giving the effect of the pedal register, as is often the case in Liszt's Bach transcriptions: some inner voices are given emphasis in this manner, of outer voices are doubled by an added inner voice. At bar 107 of the fugue, as shown in Example 2.1.b, the alto voice is doubled in Busoni's edition an octave lower, in the tenor register. This happens again in bars 154 to 157 of the Fugue, in which the subject entry is doubled an octave lower in the alto/tenor register (Example 2.1.c). This treatment is strongly reminiscent of an organ-like conception of the texture, with the accumulation of sonorities with the coupling of manuals or the adding of stops. Busoni explicitly invokes the affordances of the organ at bar 41 of the fugue, shown in Example 2.1.a. This is an entry of the fugue subject in the alto voice. Busoni opines: 'speaking as an organist, a new register with somewhat increased tone-volume begins here, but only for the voice in which the theme appears.'[134]

131. As it is categorised on the page on imslp.org for BWV 903 and in later reprints.

132. See Fischer (1943) 1948; Fischer (n.d.) 1961; Brookshire 2016.

133. Kindermann 1980: 464–5; Sitsky 2008: 177–9.

134. Busoni 1915: 15.



Example 2.1. Examples from the Fugue of the *Chromatic Fantasia* as in Busoni's edition
(a) bars 40–45[135]
(b) bars 107–10[136]
(c) bars 154–7[137]

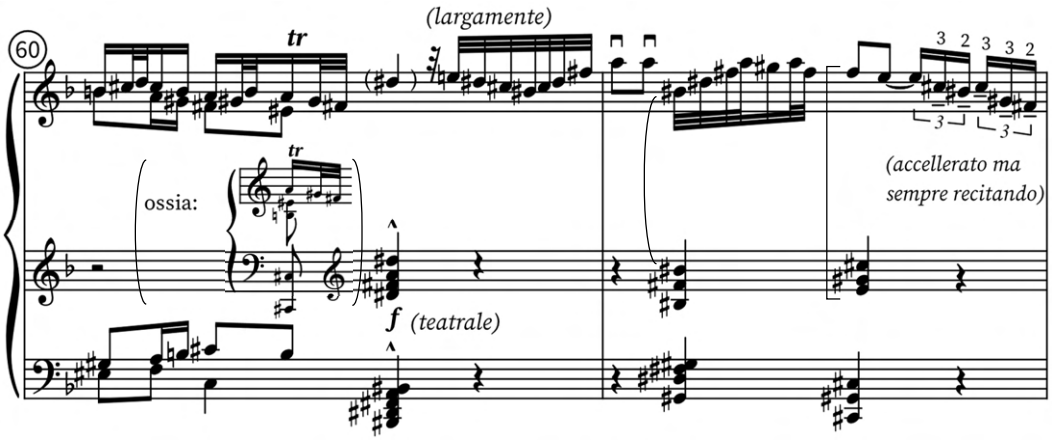
135. Ibid. The asterisk at bar 41, beat 3 is discussed in the text.

136. Ibid.: 18.

137. Ibid.: 21. N.B. From bar 135 to the end, Busoni prints the original (as it appears in the Bach Gesellschaft edition and in Bischoff [See Chapter 4]) in the lower staves, while the upper two staves present 'the editor's concert version' (Ibid.: 20).

The editorial intervention is illustrative of 'conceptions' of Bach, as alluded to by Handschin. The *Fantasia* provides further elements to support this claim, with the performance indication 'quasi organo' applied to the second arpeggio section.

The organ is not the only instrumental allusion in Busoni's edition. Several passages of the Fantasia contain bowings, as though the pianist were to think of the desired sound in terms of the affordances of string instruments. In bar 60, the dramatic effect of the passage – highlighted by the expression marks 'teatrale' and 'largamente' – is heightened by the two consecutive down bows on the two quavers at bar 61 (see Example 2.2).

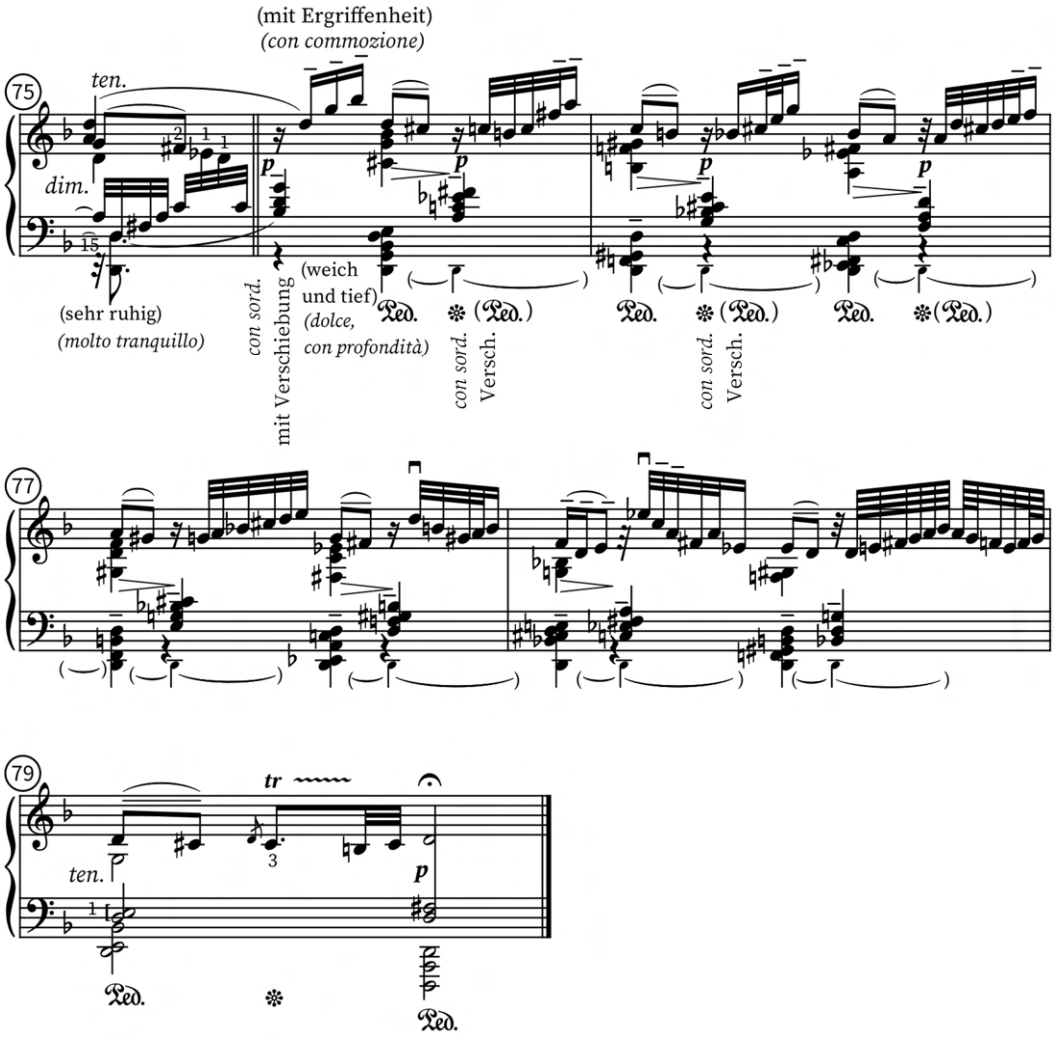


Example 2.2. *Chromatic Fantasia,* bars 60–61, as in Busoni's edition[138]

Furthermore, in another moment of the Fantasia, the coda, where Busoni's bewilderingly busy editorial annotations suggest an atmosphere of pathos, more 'down bow' marks are placed in bars 77 and 78 (see Example 2.3). In the recitative section of the *Fantasia,* Busoni specifies that it should be 'in the style of a recitative, but in strict time', likening the passage to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.[139]

138. Ibid.: 11.

139. Ibid.: 9.



Example 2.3. Bars 75 to the end of the *Chromatic Fantasia* as in Busoni's edition[140]

Hence Busoni's edition cannot be adequately accounted for if one limits the exegesis to observations of its interventions – thicker harmonies, a deluge of expression marks, doubled octaves, etc. Busoni's edition appears in sharper focus against the backdrop of the maximalism criticised by Grace and the eclectic borrowings from the idiom of the organ, the violin, and the symphony orchestra. It is not to be excluded that Busoni stands as a representative of the lavish approach to organ-playing represented by 'Straubism', and that the barer approach of earlier nineteenth-century performers

140. Ibid.: 13. N.B. Busoni inserts a double bar between the first and second beats of bar 75, presumably to give typographical emphasis to the formal boundary. My numbering disregards this in order to preserve the bar numbers usually encountered in other editions.

exemplified by Mendelssohn and Moscheles was held on to in Britain, as this new school was repudiated during the war years. There is also evidence that some restrained values remained alive in Germany in the tradition of Clara Schumann, Joachim, and later Edwin Fischer.

These seemingly anodyne or idiosyncratic editorial interventions on the part of Busoni reveal that he was thinking of the organ rather than the harpsichord or the clavichord, or that he read it, not through a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tradition of extemporising on the harpsichord, but through the stylistic paradigm of Beethoven. These brief observations are intended only to serve as an illustration of how historically situated ways of establishing or bridging the historical divide between Bach and the present can have far-reaching effects on performance decisions such as those that Busoni records in his edition. In this case, Busoni stands as an example of a broader tendency. Such 'readings' are undoubtedly at work in other interventionist editions or arrangements closer to the British context, but the profusion of markings that Busoni gives, along with his evident commonalities with the 'Straubism' denounced by Grace make this digression particularly informative.

A 'performer's history' must invoke reception history in the same way that a reception history must make use of a traditional source-oriented set of methodologies. Performers are, after all, agents acting within a musical ecosystem which includes (a) a particular historiography inflected by reception, (b) concert culture, in which production and reception are intertwined, and finally (c) texts (this tripartite schema being mimetic of the division of labour between Chapters 2, 3, and 4).

The attention devoted in this chapter to a long history of precedents is useful *precisely* because it shines a clearer light on texts such as Busoni's *Bearbeitung*: it may have otherwise appeared neutral, but new traits emerge as a result of the context seen in this chapter, namely the Regerian or Straube-ian features accentuated by the specifically British reception of Bach. There are many different Bachs, and indeed many late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Bachs. Sharper focus can be achieved by investigating contexts of reception as I have just done. The Bach of the 1890s and 1900s in Britain is, after all, the Bach that figures such as Harold Samuel or Harriet Cohen would have first encountered in their musical training. This helps one avoid reductive temptations such as that of synthesising artificially, using disparate specimens, a single

late nineteenth-century manner of performing Bach. With this contextualisation, the specificities emerging from performances, repertoire choices, and wider cultural discourse help one approach more lucidly the performers of the early twentieth century – in particular those who would become celebrated performers in the interwar era and had been trained around the turn of the century.

3. The Kantor in the West End
Harold Samuel's Bach Weeks

London greeted the return of peace with teeming activity. Opening a newspaper from the immediate postwar years is enough to suggest the abundance and variety of the city's entertainments: theatre productions, vaudeville shows, gallery exhibitions, leisure flights from the Hendon aerodrome, jazz bands, and even the nascent 'picture house' industry all noisily vie for the reader's attention on a single page.[1] No day passed without a torrent of musical happenings that Percy Scholes described at the time as 'a mad orgy of concert-giving'.[2] As seen in the previous chapter, Britain had long been a cosmopolitan musical centre, and Bach's music had enjoyed the interest and respect of educated musicians. In this chapter, I examine a phenomenon of interwar concert culture that is credited with having popularised Bach's music and given it significant reach beyond this connoisseurship. In 1921, alongside a similar outpouring of events, six all-Bach recitals were announced at Wigmore Hall for the following week, to be played by a Mr Harold Samuel.[3]

After training at the Royal College of Music, where he studied piano with Edward Dannreuther and composition with Charles Villiers Stanford, Samuel had spent much of the twentieth century thus far developing a quiet but successful career as an accompanist. At the same time, he showed a career-long predilection for Bach, performing the *Goldberg Variations* as early as 1900.[4] The work had only been performed once before in Britain, by his former teacher.[5] Samuel's Bach Week in 1921 met with critical and financial success. As it was repeated, it became a regular event in London in the following years, earning Samuel reputation as a Bach performer. This reputation led him to tour extensively. Figure 3.3 at the end of this chapter shows Samuel upon his arrival in the United States in January 1929. There were Bach Weeks in New York, as well as a three-day Bach series in Toronto. Samuel's Bach Weeks are listed in Table 3.1. He is also known to have frequently

1. These examples are from *The Times*, 11 June 1921: 8.
2. *The Observer*, 5 June 1921: 10. This echoes Jean-Aubry's comment in Chapter 2: see note 73.
3. *The Times*, 28 May 1921: 8.
4. *Musical News*, 31 March 1900: 297.
5. *The Times*, 15 March 1900: 7; *The Musical Times*, April 1900: 259.

performed in South Africa, and died in 1937 after being taken ill on a return journey from Cape Town.[6]

Date	City	Venue
May-June 1921	London	Wigmore Hall
April-May 1923	London	Aeolian Hall
May 1924	London	Aeolian Hall
May 1925	London	Aeolian Hall
October 1926	London	Aeolian Hall
January 1927	New York	Town Hall
January-February 1927 (3-day series)	Toronto	Hart House Theatre
April-May 1928	London	Aeolian Hall
January 1935	New York	Town Hall
May 1935	London	Wigmore Hall

Table 3.1. List of Samuel's 'Bach Weeks'

Samuel's former student Howard Ferguson credited him with popularising and, in many cases, introducing large swathes of Bach's keyboard repertoire to the concert stage in Britain, remarking in 1961 that 'nowadays, the public's interest in Bach's music is so unquestioned, and so much a part of the general musical scene, that it is hard to remember what a comparatively recent growth it is.'[7] The reference to the *general* music scene is an important qualifier. This comparatively short-lived phenomenon in the concert culture of the interwar era is therefore worth examining more closely for three reasons: firstly, the format of the marathon recital series, which, while being characteristic of the interwar era's exuberant atmosphere, brought visibility to Bach's music; secondly, the repertoire that eschewed virtuoso transcription and presented the 'pure' Bach keyboard works; finally, the reactions that this activity provoked in the press. All of these factors have implications for the historically located and performative concept of Bach that the wider dissertation is devoted to. This chapter therefore is preoccupied with concert culture as a group of activities: Samuel's concert-giving, critics' responses, and audiences' interactions with the events thus offer performance-centred insights on Bach's keyboard works that can be differentiated from reception per se, although not necessarily opposed to it.

6. *The Times*, 16 January 1937: 14.

7. Ferguson 1962: 186.

The Concert as an Event

An indispensable element for understanding these performances pertains to the format of the concert-giving itself. Samuel's Bach Weeks were sensationalist recital-marathons and single-composer festivities. In both of these respects, the Bach Weeks had precedents as well as contemporaneous analogues that are worth examining to provide context.

The idea of a concert series devoted entirely to a single composer – especially Bach – was out of the ordinary, but had been pioneered by the London Bach Choir. As Chapter 2 established, the most public manifestations of the Bach revival in late nineteenth-century Britain involved performances of the choral works through the pre-existing practices of amateur and semi-professional choral societies. An account by Percy Scholes suggests that by the twentieth century, this fondness for the liturgical works for choir and orchestra had definitively entered the popular imagination. Scholes noted in 1924 that 'nothing is … so certain to fill one of the greater London concert halls as the announcement of a Bach choral work';[8] he later described how between 1846 and 1926, Bach, having previously been 'vaguely known historically and not loved nor reverenced' by one in a hundred choralists,[9] gained a status equal to that of Handel or Mendelssohn in the music lists of British choral societies.[10] At the professionalised end of the scale, the London Bach Choir had by the 1910s cemented itself as a permanent institution of the capital's musical life, and its breadth widened to include – as was asserted in its mission statement, which appeared on later programmes – all 'choral works of excellence of various schools'.[11]

The most successful and widely publicised celebrations of Bach's music in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain were organised under the aegis of the Bach Choir and its successive musical directors. Charles Villiers Stanford was the Choir's musical director in 1895 when he organised a three-day event featuring the *St Matthew Passion* and 'a variety of other music in which various vocal and instrumental artists … acquitted themselves quite admirably.'[12] This was repeated in 1897, beginning with the *St Matthew Passion* and ending with the B minor Mass. After succeeding Stanford as musical

8. *The Observer*, 18 May 1924: 12.
9. Scholes 1947: 70.
10. Ibid.: 144–47.
11. Collected Bach Choir Concert Programmes 1876–1953. Music Collections e.1400. British Library, London
12. Scholes 1947: 181.

director, Henry Walford Davies would also explore this format in 1906, pairing the Mass with miscellaneous vocal and instrumental music. In the eclectic aesthetic of the Victorian era, performances devoted to a single instrumental disposition were still more the exception than the rule. The 'miscellany' concert, popular in the nineteenth century, juxtaposed many different ensembles and repertoires.[13] It was the norm, for example, at the 'Popular Concerts' at St James's Hall, one of the period's most successful series, to combine various permutations of chamber ensemble and soloists in the same programme.[14] This model was beginning to wane in popularity by the end of the century, but mixed programmes featured in all of these Bach Festivals

The Bach Choir's most ambitious event was held in Westminster Central Hall in April 1920 under the directorship of Hugh Allen. Scholes described it as 'a Bach Museum, many works being performed that one had rarely or never had the opportunity of hearing before'. Its aim was to present an encyclopaedic survey of the composer's creative output.[15] The 1920 festival featured once again the Mass in B minor, but it also included varied programmes: on the first day, solo arias from the cantata repertoire were presented alongside the Concerto for two violins BWV 1043; the second afternoon featured the Suite for orchestra with solo flute BWV 1067, more excerpts from the sacred and secular cantatas, the Concerto for three harpsichords in C major BWV 1064, and the Concerto for violin, flute, and piano in A minor BWV 1044; the third day was divided between motets for double choir, organ works, a keyboard toccata performed on the piano, and arias from the Schemelli songbook.[16] It was considered a success on all levels, demonstrating that such an event, featuring novel and difficult music, could be met with interest and even enthusiasm. H. C. Colles wrote:

> the door-keepers at the Central Hall shouting 'Ticket-holders only', as the huge audience pressed up the stairs for the performance of the Mass, showed how fully the purpose had been fulfilled: it has been to fire the musical life of London with the mighty flame of J. S. Bach.[17]

13. Ritterman & Weber 2007: 174–5.
14. See notes in Appendix 1.
15. Scholes 1947: 182.
16. Concert programme of the 1920 Bach Festival: 15–16. Music Collections Hirsch.2117. British Library, London.
17. *The Musical Times*, May 1920: 317. Colles was then the chief music critic of *The Times*, and although concert reviews were unsigned, rendering positive identification impossible, Colles is a possible author for the many quotations from this newspaper.

Samuel performed the Toccata in C minor BWV 911 on the third day, having joined Myra Hess and Herbert Fryer in the Concerto for three keyboards in C major BWV 1064 on the first. Samuel was closely associated with the Bach Choir and would continue to perform with them throughout the 1920s.[18]

For this reason, it is plausible to suggest that Samuel drew from this event the idea of presenting a syncretic 'museum of Bach' of his own, in which unknown rare artefacts might be unveiled. The enthusiasm shown by London audiences in 1920 can only have encouraged him to proceed with the project. However, reflecting a subtle change from the London Bach Choir, still rooted in a Victorian ethos, Samuel's Bach Week would present only the piano. The example from previous Bach festivals informs us that his undertaking departed from some of its predecessors, perhaps marking a break between the genteel heterogeneity of Victorian and Edwardian concert-giving, in favour of a more focused emphasis on the keyboard works.

Samuel was the first to attempt a festival of this breadth, but other pianists before him had given all-Bach recitals in London, including Donald Francis Tovey and former Liszt pupil José Vianna da Motta, both in 1911 (see Table A1.3 in Appendix 1). Samuel himself had performed a closely grouped pair of standalone Bach programmes in 1919 that may be considered precursors to his Bach weeks.[19] Further afield, Blanche Selva had performed Bach's complete keyboard works in a weekly recital series at the Schola Cantorum in Paris starting in December 1903.[20] Samuel, by then in his twenties and already displaying a pronounced interest in Bach, may have been informed of such a conspicuous undertaking even though the British musical press does not appear to have reported on it in any detail. Selva's London debut in 1907 involved five consecutive recitals, the first of which was devoted to Bach.[21] There were also 'historical concerts' that summarised the development of the piano's repertoire. These surveys, often didactic in tone, were neither common, nor a rarity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

18. Bach Choir concert programme, 14 December 1921. Music Collections e.1400. British Library, London; Keen 2008: 243, 246, 256.

19. *The Musical Times*, March 1919: 913; *The Times* 23 June 1919: 12.

20. Announced in *Le Figaro*, 7 December 1903: 2. Reported on in *Le Courrier Musical*, January 1904.

21. *The Observer*, 24 November 1907: 9; *The Times*, 19 November 1907: 8.

centuries.[22] Later examples include a pair of concerts given by Willoughby Walmisley in 1926:[23] the first, 'Clavier and earlier Piano music', encompassed Bach to Beethoven,[24] while the second, 'the 19th century as the Pianoforte Renaissance', covered Weber onwards.[25]

In the early 1920s, Samuel's Bach weeks were by no means the only manifestation of this shift in practice, nor was the idea of a single-composer, single-instrument theme a new one. The other sensation gripping the musical press that very same spring was the London String Quartet performing a complete set of Beethoven String Quartets in chronological order.[26] There seems to have been a wide spectrum of events, encompassing both sophisticated and popular repertoire, and admitting overlap between the two categories. The interwar era saw schemes that were even more elaborate than these, the organisation of which often attracted more attention than the repertoire or performances. Many were explicitly advertised as attempts to help live entertainment compete with the cinema. To give an example of the kind of radical experimentation that took place, Dorland Hall on Regent Street organised a 'continuous concert' series in 1933. From noon to midnight, one could drop in at any time, as one would in a cinema. This was accomplished by having two three-hour programmes repeated twice.[27] However, the scheme was unsuccessful at drawing audiences and did not endure.[28] Another venture, announced by London impresario Thomas Quinlan, involved drumming up an audience by sending on tour ensembles entirely composed of world-famous artists in an attempt to fill concert halls. These included Emma Calvé, John McCormack, Jacques Thibaud, Guilhermina Suggia, Moriz Rosenthal, and Arthur Rubinstein.[29] After this announcement, it is challenging to find evidence that the scheme achieved its aims, or that Quinlan was even successful at carrying it out. Samuel's example perhaps displays less showmanship

22. *The Musical Standard*, 7 March 1891: 191; *The Musical Standard*, 23 June 1894: 526–28; *Musical News* 27 June 1896: 605–6; *Musical News*, 5 March 1898: 238–40.
23. *The Musical Times*, March 1926: 255; Concert Programme, 29 January and 12 February 1926. Percy Scholes Fonds, Box 168. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
24. Including also Scarlatti, Handel, Rameau, Mozart, Haydn, and Clementi.
25. Including also Mendelssohn, Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, Liszt, Chopin, Bax, Cyril Scott, Arensky, and Ravel.
26. *The Musical Times*, June 1921: 426.
27. *The Times*, 8 May 1933: 12.
28. *The Music Lover*, 20 May 1933.
29. Undated (likely early 1920s) typescript by Percy Scholes of what appears to be a newspaper article. 'Million Pound Concert Scheme to Fight the Cinema'. Percy Scholes Fonds, Box 29, 'Concert', subfolder 3. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

and enjoyed more longevity, but the Bach Weeks are not a solitary example: they took place in a context of sensationalism, interest in novelty, and fierce competition for audiences.

In this setting, they were among the successful schemes and were soon spoken of as a regular feature of London concert life, with devoted audiences who returned in a spirit of intimacy and complicity. By 1926 it was greeted in the press as an event needing no description at all.[30] Although they became less frequent after 1928, the Bach weeks lasted until 1935, when the 250th anniversary of the composer's birth was observed with a profusion of performances throughout the world. Percy Scholes had praised the 1920 Bach festival for juxtaposing many elements of the composer's creative life in such a way as to shed light on it through the comparison of works with each other, thereby supplying the audience with 'delightful and intimate touches in the character of the great man'.[31] This relationship of intimacy between work and audience was indeed being cultivated in other settings, with novel formats such as *repeated* concerts being proposed. In an otherwise perfunctory account of the 1921 Bach week, the *Saturday Review* identifies it as part of 'the growing custom of the moment … to give two or three recitals in succession, in order, apparently to allow time for first impressions to sink in'.[32] The topic of repetition is present in these marathon events: both in New York and in London, the first Bach weeks were supplemented by plebiscite programmes, or recitals composed of choices from the public. The handbill for the 'pleb' on 21 June 1921 invites the public to 'indicate their choice by letter, *or by marked programmes*' to the concert promoter Philip Ashbrooke,[33] suggesting that the added event would comprise repeated performances of works already heard that week. One may then infer certain preferences in the public choice of works. Although no detailed listing exists, the 1921 'pleb' was reported to include the *Chromatic Fantasia,* the English Suite in G minor, the Partita in B-flat major, and the Chorale Prelude

30. 'A week of Bach is a very fine institution for those who listen' (*The Times,* 8 May 1925: 12); 'the very fact that these concerts are an established custom has an influence on the pleasure we get from them' (*The Times,* 20 October 1926: 14); 'Perhaps the best thing is to treat Mr Samuel and his Bach week as a recurring event that needs no accompaniment of recurring comment, and to add that age cannot wither, &c.' (*The Musical Times,* December 1926: 1124).

31. *The Observer,* 18 April 1920: 11.

32. *The Saturday Review,* 25 June 1921: 528.

33. Handbill for the plebiscite recital, 21 June 1921. Collyer-Fergusson Collection. Royal College of Music, London. (my italics)

'Wachet Auf',[34] all popular and well-known works from the repertoire. By diverging from the pre-existing nineteenth-century format of eclectic, mixed performances, Samuel's presentation of the keyboard works in relation to each other, but isolated from the other repertoires, engaged the audience in new and different types of listening. Samuel's Bach Weeks furthermore invited this repertoire into a peculiar concert format that borrowed from the conventions of popular culture in its attempt to amaze and proselytise.

Repertoire: 'Pure' Bach

This section treats Samuel's choice of repertoire in the Bach Weeks. It begins by defining the norms and expectations that governed repertoire choice in the context of solo piano performance; it then examines how Samuel deviated from these norms, and the strategies that he used in putting together his recitals.

At the time of the first Bach week in 1921, audiences' expectations for Bach on the piano were still largely dominated by virtuoso transcriptions and a small number of cherished favourites from the keyboard works. Reviewing the first Bach Week, essayist George Sampson wrote:

> As a rule, all we hear of Bach at the usual recitals is a repetition of well-known pieces – the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue* and the *Italian Concerto* being the sole representatives of pure clavier work, the rest being organ or string pieces re-written for acrobatic displays of transcendental technique.[35]

The reference to 'pure' Bach in this comment is not idle; as will be seen below, value-laden terminology such as this would become increasingly prevalent.[36] Another commenter highlighted a shift in attitude from Bach as a preliminary *hors d'oeuvre,* to his status as a focal point of Samuel's performances: 'we remember how pianists used 30 years ago to slip in a little Bach at unawares into their programme, and then for a decade or so put a

34. *The Times of India*, 15 July 1921: 11.

35. *The Bookman*, July 1921: 188. N.B. *The Bookman* was a generalist cultural publication with an emphasis on literature and poetry. George Sampson's essay on Bach (Sampson 1947) appears in a collection bringing together a variety of topics.

36. This being said, references to purity were not new: 'When … do we hear pure Bach at a recital – one of the splendid Suites or Toccatas, or some of the "forty-eight"? All we hear of him consists, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, of a painful derangement of an organ-fugue by Liszt or Tausig, or a brilliant edition of the Chromatic Fantasia.' (*The Lute*, February 1895: 389). But in the 1890s this complaint was more about variety than about authenticity: the same editorialist proceeds to ask 'why are we not given something else of Beethoven besides the C-sharp minor, the Waldstein, the Appassionata?' (ibid.)

stock piece first so as to get over it and on to something else more attractive.'[37] Because Samuel performed a 'large amount of music usually neglected by piano recitalists in favour of arrangements of organ works',[38] it is useful to consider exactly what his concert programmes consisted of, how they may have represented a departure from accepted norms, and whether Samuel's choices evolved over time as his 'Bach weeks' became a more familiar fixture in London concert life.

Determining what works would have been familiar or unfamiliar to London audiences may contextualise the novelty of Samuel's events as well as illustrate more clearly the shift in attitudes that he represented. For this purpose, I examine the suites of dances that Bach wrote for keyboard – the English and French Suites as well as the Partitas. These may be juxtaposed with the *Italian Concerto* and the *Chromatic Fantasy* – items that had been identified as much more popular. To demonstrate this, Appendix 1 gathers reports of performances in London as they appeared in journalistic accounts. I have used press clippings and concert programmes collected by critic Percy Scholes,[39] but have mostly relied on searchable online databases. Several archives of print sources have been queried in the months of December 2017 and January 2018, with final checks in July 2020.[40] For search terms, several forms of syntax were tried, taking care to avoid being flooded with extraneous results or turning away relevant ones.[41] The accuracy of the results relies on the quality of search engines and optical character recognition algorithms; they make no claim to being exhaustive, nor is their intended purpose to conclusively retrace a British 'performance genesis' for these works, however much this material could constitute a worthy starting point. The main goal is instead to identify broad tendencies about repertoire choice in the roughly thirty years preceding the first Bach Week. This investigation is therefore a practical application of the agenda developed in Chapter 2 about the importance of reception to a performance history.

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37. *The Times*, 7 June 1921: 8.
38. *The Observer*, 29 May 1921: 16. Percy Scholes.
39. Percy Scholes Fonds: Boxes 5 and 6. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
40. These print sources include *The Musical Times, The Monthly Musical Record, The Musical Standard, The Musical Herald, Musical News, Musical Opinion & Trade Review, The Magazine of Music, The Lute, The Athenaeum, The Academy, The Saturday Review, The Observer, The Manchester Guardian, The Times of India*, and *The Times*.
41. For example: 'Bach AND "Chromatic Fantasia" OR "Chromatic Fantasy"' to account for the pluralism of spelling.

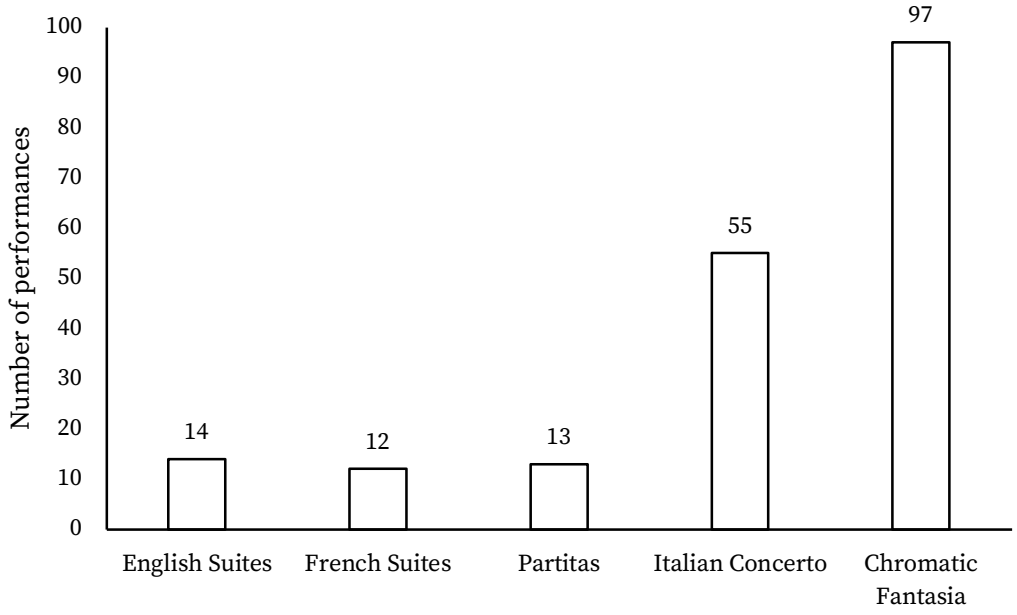

Figure 3.1. Number of London Performances of the suites, *Italian Concerto,* and *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue* reported in the press, 1890–1920

The findings of Appendix 1, as summarised in Figure 3.1, confirm the accounts of commentators who described (or complained about) the preponderance of the *Italian Concerto* and especially the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue* in the concert programmes of the era. Compared to the intense popularity of those two works among recitalists, performances of the suites were infrequent in London. Nevertheless, they would have been heard often enough to be familiar to enthusiasts of Bach's music. One should take care to avoid stereotypes of a revival *ab nihilo,* as is sometimes suggested in press accounts. Within this concert activity, certain items were evidently privileged. Eight (possibly nine: see Table A1.1) partial or complete performances of the English Suite in A minor BWV 807 were reported during the period from 1890 to 1920; seven of the French Suite in G BWV 816; and five of the Partita in B-flat major BWV 825. The English Suite in G minor BWV 808, the French Suite in E major BWV 817, and the Partita in C minor BWV 826 were also favoured by performers. Popular movements from these six suites were disseminated not only by arrangements but also by their inclusion in the syllabuses of the Associated Board's piano examinations.[42] If indeed this body of repertoire was not completely unfamiliar, it must be added that it was known primarily through contact with

42. See *The Monthly Musical Record,* February 1895: 35–38; ibid. October 1900: 225–6; *The Musical Herald,* November 1919: 366–7.

certain individual works that inevitably shaped audience expectation. These examples suggest that the familiarity with and understanding of Bach's keyboard works that could be expected of a London audience varied considerably, even among well-informed concert-goers.

Some works such as the *Goldberg Variations* would have been known only by professional musicians and a select few enthusiasts. In a 1923 interview, Samuel claims that they were not performed at all between Edward Dannreuther's Orme Square evenings in 1874 and his own in 1900.[43] Until the Bach Weeks, they were then only performed twice after that: by José Vianna di Motta in 1911,[44] and by Samuel again in 1919.[45]

Tabulating the performances of the *Italian Concerto* and *Chromatic Fantasia* shows a broader cross-section of pianists – some great, many obscure. In many ways, it is a glimpse at the rosters of the late nineteenth century: among the names that are still familiar today, most are remembered as great exponents of the nineteenth century's pianistic traditions – Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Vladimir de Pachmann, Emil von Sauer, Raoul Pugno, and Teresa Carreño. Others, are known primarily as composers, such as Albeniz. Many of the lesser-known entries in Tables A1.4 and A1.5 – Otto Hegner, Mark Hambourg, Brahm van den Berg, Isodore Pavia, among others – were child prodigies making their first entry onto the London circuit.

Meanwhile, the performances of the Suites show a more self-selecting group. During the early part of the period covered in Appendix 1, the former pupils of Clara Schumann and her wider circle are especially well-represented – Fanny Davies, Ilona Eibenschütz, Clotilde Kleeberg,[46] and most conspicuously Leonard Borwick, who was especially active as a Bach performer in the 1890s. See for example, the programme of 1893, shown in Figure 3.2, in which we see also Joachim and his quartet.

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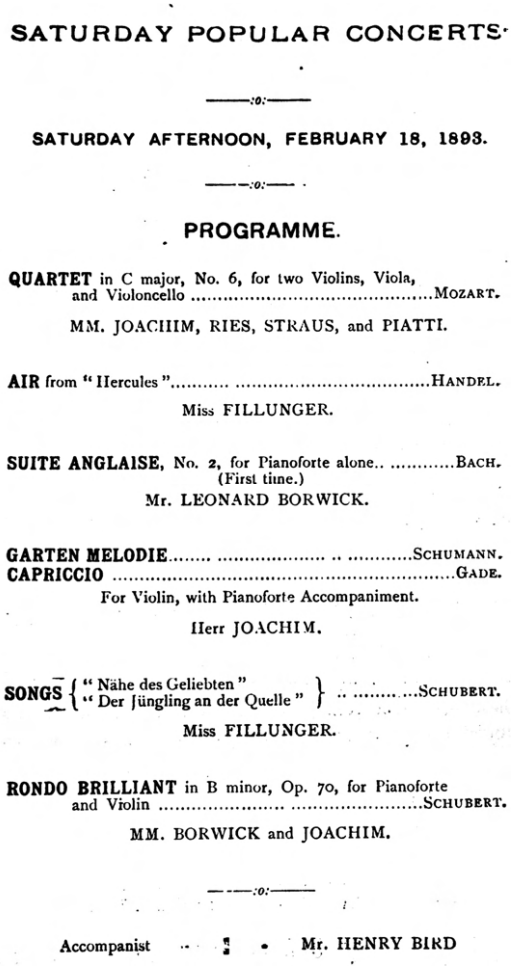
43. *The Observer*, 29 April 1923: 9. There seems to have been another Dannreuther performance in 1892 (reported in *The Times*, 7 January 1892: 10).

44. *The Athenaeum*, 29 April 1911: 486; *The Observer*, 23 April 1911: 6.

45. *The Musical Times*, March 1919: 128.

46. Although Kleeberg never studied formally with Schumann, Kleeberg is known to have repeatedly received her advice and the two were said to have strong musical affinities (Hoffmann 2011). I therefore have no qualms about including her in the company of Davies, Eibenschütz, and Borwick as Schumannians.



SATURDAY POPULAR CONCERTS.

—:o:—

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 18, 1893.

—:o:—

PROGRAMME.

QUARTET in C major, No. 6, for two Violins, Viola, and Violoncello .....MOZART.

MM. JOACHIM, RIES, STRAUS, and PIATTI.

AIR from "Hercules" .....HANDEL.

Miss FILLUNGER.

SUITE ANGLAISE, No. 2, for Pianoforte alone.. .....BACH.
(First time.)

Mr. LEONARD BORWICK.

GARTEN MELODIE..... .....SCHUMANN.
CAPRICCIO .....GADE.

For Violin, with Pianoforte Accompaniment.

Herr JOACHIM.

SONGS { "Nähe des Geliebten" / "Der Jüngling an der Quelle" } .....SCHUBERT.

Miss FILLUNGER.

RONDO BRILLIANT in B minor, Op. 70, for Pianoforte and Violin .....SCHUBERT.

MM. BORWICK and JOACHIM.

—:o:—

Accompanist ... Mr. HENRY BIRD

Figure 3.2. Programme from the Saturday Popular Concerts[47]

Members of the Lisztian tradition such as José Vianna di Motta and Sophie Menter constitute a different group, to which Edward Dannreuther may be added (although a former pupil of Moscheles, his close acquaintance with and advocacy for Wagner place him in this pianistic 'constellation'). It remains tantalising to speculate about the continuities or discontinuities that existed between the inheritors of 'Schumann–Brahms' and 'Liszt–Wagner' sets of aesthetic, pedagogical, and pianistic principles. Here we see the emergence of the profile of the 'Bach pianist': still having very diverse proclivities and existing in the musical mainstream (as opposed to eccentric antiquarians such as Dolmetsch) whilst cultivating an interest in Bach in the concert hall.

47. Percy Scholes Fonds. Box 172 'Programmes 5: London. Crystal Palace, 1896-1901; St. James's Hall, 1892-1894'. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

A London enthusiast of Bach's keyboard works would have had opportunities to hear the Suites, but these opportunities were relatively infrequent and overshadowed by the popularity of transcriptions, as alluded to in the press, and by a small number of cherished favourites such as the *Italian Concerto* and *Chromatic Fantasia*, as demonstrated in Appendix 1 and Figure 3.1. This is why Samuel's Bach Weeks represented an important change: works such as the suites of dances, but also the inventions and sinfonias, the toccatas, and even the little preludes featured prominently in these recital series and in higher concentration than they ever had been before. Samuel played nine suites in 1921; the putative concertgoer therefore heard more of this repertoire in a week than had been performed in the previous decade. And this is accounting only for quantity: the variety that Samuel presented had simply never been on offer before. For Percy Scholes, 'he gives that audience the genuine Bach, not Bach-Tausig, nor Bach-Busoni, nor Bach-Liszt, nor Bach-Samuel',[48] which was still a novelty. Samuel explored aspects of the Bach repertoire that had previously been neglected. The Bach weeks were a platform on which he was able to do this with audiences and press coverage that remained broadly sympathetic throughout the 1920s.

Turning to the repertoire choices of the Bach Weeks themselves, the extant concert programmes are comparatively rare: to my knowledge, only those of the 1921, 1924, and 1935 editions are available to describe in detail what was played. Their chronological spread allows some assessment to be made in terms of whether any changes took place as the event became a regular occurrence. The more detailed journalistic accounts also supplement the information disclosed by printed concert programmes. This information has been collated in Appendix 2.

Bearing in mind the context described above, one is struck by the compromise exhibited in the first Bach Week. Samuel systematically interspersed suites that would have been more familiar to the concert goer with more challenging novelties. In this way, the first Bach week provided the template for the following ones. The opening recital on Monday 30 May 1921 offset the comparatively familiar French Suite in E major BWV 817 with the lesser known Partita in A minor BWV 830 and the Fantasia and Fugue in A minor (most likely BWV 904). On Wednesday 1 June, the already popular English Suite in G

48. *The Observer*, 5 June 1921: 10.

minor BWV 808 and Partita in B-flat major BWV 825 framed the Toccata in C minor BWV 911. The following afternoon, Samuel nodded to the still prevalent practice of performing isolated movements by playing the Bourrées from the English Suite in A minor BWV 807 in a group of short movements that also included Short Preludes. Finally, the closing concert on 4 June appears as a more popular offering but, in its own way, paired familiar with unfamiliar: the Partita in C minor BWV 826 and French Suite in G major BWV 816 – admittedly two of the most popular Suites – were paired with the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue*. As several correspondents remarked, such an undertaking was not devoid of financial risk,[49] and pleasing crowds could not be disregarded entirely.

It cannot be denied, however, that despite giving his audience reference points such as these, Samuel's other programming choices were indeed bold and pioneering: the most weighty items on the programme of 31 May were the Overture in the French Style BWV 831 and the then unheard-of French Suite in E-flat BWV 815; the pride of place accorded to the *Goldberg Variations* BWV 988 on 3 June furthermore attests to the seriousness of the endeavour of this Bach festival.[50]

At the close of this experiment, Alfred Kalisch reported in the *Musical Times* that it had met with commercial as well as critical success:

> A significant fact is that the audiences grew steadily, until at the last event many people were turned away. The whole series, I am told, was, contrary to all expectations, a financial success – so much so, that Mr Samuel is giving a seventh recital with a plébiscite programme.[51]

It is worth examining how subsequent editions negotiated the boundaries of the Bach repertoire on the concert stage. It appears that Samuel continued to employ this strategy of balancing better-known repertoire with less familiar parts of Bach's keyboard repertoire. Three of the suites – the English Suite in G minor BWV 808, the French Suite in E major BWV 817, and the Partita in C minor BWV 826 – were especially favoured by Samuel: the latter two appear in every instance for which a reasonably detailed description of the repertoire choice is extant, and the English Suite in all but one of them. Most conspicuously, the *Goldberg Variations* were featured in every single edition. Samuel

49. *The Times of India*, 21 June 1921: 11; *The Musical Times*, July 1921: 495.

50. Concert Programme. A.L. Bacharach Collection. Mus.317.c.5. Bodleian Library, Oxford. See also Appendix 2.

51. *The Musical Times*, July 1921: 495. Kalisch was a librettist, translator, and critic who was one of the early champions in Britain of Richard Strauss's music (Jacobs 2002).

had affinities with this work, having performed it in 1900 and 1919;[52] it must have also become closely associated with his Bach Weeks, perhaps even participating in the feeling of ritual that grew around these events. Indeed, attesting to the Bach Week's status as a fixture of the musical scene and the central place accorded to the *Variations,* a critic noted in 1926 (i.e. the fifth time in six years that the event had happened): 'of such a cherished institution there is no more to be said but that his performance of the *Goldberg Variations* is one of the great musical experiences of our day.'[53] However, each Bach week introduced new and unfamiliar selections alongside these repeated favourites. In addition to a more complete presentation of the suites of dances, Samuel is responsible also for performing and briefly popularising repertoire which arguably never quite acquired the status of 'common currency' in the pianistic mainstream: the Adagio in G BWV 968 (Bach's arrangement of his own Sonata for violin in C major BWV 1005), the Fantasia in C minor BWV 918 (without its incomplete Fugue), the Prelude and Fugue in A minor 'alla tarantella' (likely BWV 894) or the Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro in E-flat major BWV 998 (originally for lute).

One final observation to make on Samuel's project is that it never staked any claims to encyclopaedic breadth. Unlike Blanche Selva, Samuel deliberately avoided complete sets, whether on the stage or in the studio.[54] While he performed most of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* at different points in his career, there is no record of a complete '48' performed by Samuel. Similarly, while he would have been one of handful of pianists in the 1920s capable of programming a full complement of partitas and English or French Suites, these always appeared in painstakingly composed programmes in which he seems to have cultivated variety and complementarity as guiding principles. Further inspection of the programming choices reveals that Samuel's repertoire did not change significantly in nature or scope over time: core works such as those mentioned above were a reliable – or, less charitably, a predictable – mainstay of these Bach weeks. Nevertheless, the repeated quality of these events undoubtedly brought large swathes of Bach's keyboard catalogue, most notably the suites, out of a historically inflected sphere of understanding – that of the Bach Gesellschaft Edition's eminent British subscribers as seen in Chapter 2 – into the performed reality of the concert hall. By the end of the decade, Samuel had

52. *The Musical Times,* April 1900: 259; *The Musical Times,* March 1919: 128.

53. *The Monthly Musical Record,* November 1926: 331.

54. Ferguson 1962: 187.

presented some of these works to the public more often than they had been heard in a generation.

Critical Responses: Description

The Bach Weeks were, in their own way, a new and unique phenomenon. As such, they attracted considerable attention from critics and commentators. New facets of Bach's keyboard repertoire were being rediscovered on the concert stage, and wider challenges of Bach performance were being confronted. Mentions of the Bach Weeks tended to be brief, and, at least initially, concentrated more on the format of the performances than on detailed description of the playing. The style of music criticism that had long held sway continued to be preoccupied with the evaluation of new works. At best, the writing of 'concert notices' could beguile the reader through their literary merit and pithiness.[55] Reviewers were more often than not more interested in relating the novelty of the choice of repertoire, with only perfunctory remarks about the performance. Taking examples from the press notices used to compile Appendix 1, Fanny Davies was praised because 'all these movements were daintily played',[56] whereas Wilhelm Backhaus performed 'fluidly and merrily';[57] Leonard Borwick receives widespread recognition for bringing rare curiosa, but general descriptions such as 'chaste and reserved' are the only indications of the performance.[58] These specimens are reminiscent of the compendium of journalistic clichés that John Runciman compiled in 1895, deriding overused phrases such as 'the Scherzo was played with magnificent style'; 'Mr —— sang in perfectly artistic style' ; 'both ladies were enthusiastically applauded and recalled'; or 'there was a fairly large and appreciative audience', among others.[59] Although criticism was generally undergoing a period of change, it is also possible to suggest that, in the absence of a critical mass of Bach performances, particularly of the lesser-played suites of dances, it had not yet acquired a vocabulary and style with which to describe and evaluate such performances.

In keeping with these norms, responses to early Bach weeks dwelt on atmospheric descriptions, giving sometimes tantalising glimpses of social details:

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55. Grace 1928: 235–39
56. *The Musical Standard*, 9 November 1901: 297.
57. *The Observer*, 4 October 1910: 5.
58. *The Athenaeum*, December 12 1891: 808.
59. *The New Review*, June 1895: 623. Quoted in Watt 2018: 22.

> The audiences contained an unusual percentage of notorieties. I saw there among others Sir Henry Wood, Sir Hugh Allen, Mr Adrian Boult, Mr Frank Bridge, Mr Plunket Green [*sic*], Mr de Greef and a host of other pianists, from recitalists down to bob-haired students.

The notice also provided the anecdotal vignette of Samuel being 'mightily confused by a laurel wreath' the end of the series.[60] Though there were 'notorieties', the reviewer paints a decidedly popular scene in his breathless account of the event:

> When Mr Samuel announced six recitals of Bach, without transcriptions, he was thought to be more enthusiastic than wise. For once, however, courage and faith were fitly rewarded… The audiences began by being large, and grew so that by the end of the week, those of us who arrived late had to look so hard for a seat that we preferred to stand.[61]

Numerous other press accounts suggested that the event had attracted a varied audience,[62] including one semi-humorous report that there had been 'at least one instance where a votary of the music-hall was waylaid and diverted from his original intention, to his soul's betterment'.[63] Samuel's choice to eschew transcriptions was also remarked upon, although there was one exception made for the encore after the *Goldberg Variations*: the Chorale Prelude from the 'Wachet Auf', or 'Sleeper's Wake' Cantata. This was noted as 'as sly bit of fun', given the popular programmatic association between the *Variations* and their use as a soporific by Count von Kayserling.[64] Finally, an element attracting the notice of almost every response was the feat of memory involved in the performance of such a quantity of repertoire, a fascination with memory that would follow Samuel for the rest of his career. Regardless of how this reflected performances in the concert hall, the growth of Samuel's reputation, particularly as a Bach performer, was initially mediated by descriptions of this nature.

However, another phenomenon worth examining is how very similar repertoire choices – and presumably similar performances – met with varying critical responses through the years. As the festival grew to become a regular occurrence, descriptions of its performative aspects became more finely grained, and these more detailed accounts were used by critics as material with which to expand upon in wider reflections about Bach

60. *The Times of India*, 15 July 1921: 11.
61. Ibid.
62. *The Monthly Musical Record*, July 1921: 158; *The Saturday Review*, 11 June 1921: 486.
63. *The Times*, 7 June 1921: 8.
64. *The Times of India*, 15 July 1921: 11.

performance, encompassing discussions about expressivity, style, and the early formulations of criteria for an authentic, or faithful performance.

Early discussion of performance style emerges in a report by Edward Dent in 1923. While, like many commentators, he wrote at length about the atmosphere of the event itself, he observed about Samuel that

> His style is perceptibly eclectic. Fanny Davies, Leonard Borwick, [Violet Gordon-] Woodhouse and the most learned Dottore,[65] flit from time to time fantastically through his imaginative memory, and give an unexpected but pleasing variety to his interpretations. But his left hand tells me that he has learned most of all from Casals.[66]

It is informative to see Samuel compared to other proficient Bach pianists of the previous decades, particularly insofar is this characterisation alludes to the tradition of Clara Schumann. This account also places Samuel in relation to non-pianists such as Pablo Casals and harpsichordist Violet Gordon-Woodhouse.

What approaches or performance strategies attracted the attention of critics once more concrete examples began to be discussed? Percy Scholes identifies three overarching themes that will prove useful as categories for discussing critical responses to Samuel's performance style: 'if I were asked to state in a line the main characteristics of Mr Samuel's performance I should say "part-playing, rhythmic continuity, colour".'[67]

On part-leading, testimony spanning Samuel's career can attest to the importance of this. For *The Times,*

> he does not allow one to hear when a subject passes from one hand to another, nor does he make one part stand out at the expense of the rest… He is capable of the sustained effort of building up a large structure as well as of entrancing us with delicate fingerings in a Courante.[68]

Richard Aldrich added that 'there is always a firm and an unmistakable clearness of structure. The contrapuntal fiber is never lost';[69] 'there is a notable clearness in the

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65. It is unclear whom exactly this refers to. It is possible that Hugo Riemann is being referenced. Ebenezer Prout used the same moniker in a letter to William Barclay Squire (9 Oct 1901. ff 152-153, Music Collections Add.MS. 39680, British Library).

66. *The Nation and Athenaeum*, 12 May 1923: 203. Dent's interest in music was in large part of a scholarly nature, but he also engaged in criticism, notably for the *Athenaeum,* and produced enduringly popular English translations of the libretti for Mozart's operas (See Lewis & Fortune 2001).

67. *The Observer*, 18 May 1924: 10.

68. *The Times*, 22 October 1926: 6

69. *The New York Times*, 19 January 1927: 20.

enunciation of the contrapunta[l] voices and in the differentiation of them dynamically'.[70] In 1935, Samuel's penultimate appearance in New York was again described in terms of 'clear polyphonic style' and 'fine phrasing'[71]. These accounts all point to a pianistic approach to Bach's keyboard works in which voice-leading is prior to other concerns, even in which questions of expressiveness are first explored in the melodic tension and interplay of contrapuntal lines. What is more, two responses to Samuel's performances highlight pleasure and humour. Ernest Newman admired Samuel's 'clear-headed and clean-fingered' rendition of Bach's polyphonic textures, which, 'under his hands, [are] not so much a device of science as a great game to be played for the pure joy of it.'[72] The reviewer of the *Times* relates that

> It is commonly reported that in private, when he is playing among friends, he kicks over the music stool, climbs on top of the piano and plays it upside down... All that may be as it may in real life, but the spirit of it is in his Bach. What else did that comical drone in the Gavotte of the third English Suite mean, or the sly entries in the left hand in the B-flat Partita while he was ostentatiously looking at the right, or the pious lift of the countenance to heaven while he was playing the tunes from low life of the 'Quodlibet' in the Goldberg Variations? He makes Bach so easy.[73]

These mentions of joy and pleasure in Bach's contrapuntal textures represent a contrast with some of the stereotypes that have been seen in Chapter 2, portraying Bach as dry, intellectual, or 'bitter medicine'.[74] Whether Samuel is leading this shift with his performances, or whether critics are engaging in a project of reinventing Bach discursively is immaterial. Here we notice a departure from two competing visions of Bach that had hitherto dominated peoples' writing and thinking: on the one hand as a dry-as-dust grammarian of music; on the other, as source material for fanciful romantic exhibitionism.

The second point, rhythmic continuity, is one that also appears frequently in responses to Samuel's performances. 'Samuel has a perfect rhythmic sense', writes Scholes.[75] There is evidence that Samuel employed flexibility of timing only sparingly, with movements such as the Prelude in the English Suite in G minor or the Capriccio in

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70. Ibid.
71. *The New York Times*, 9 January 1935: 23.
72. *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 May 1923: 16.
73. *The Times*, 7 June 1921: 8. Possibly by Henry Cope Colles. See note 17 in this chapter.
74. See Chapter 2, note 93.
75. *The Observer*, 5 June 1921: 10.

the Partita in C minor being noted for their vitality and constant forward motion.[76] Discussions of Samuel's use of timing and rhythm are qualified in interesting ways. Another critic would add that

> the first and last thing that happened was rhythm. Rhythm is, of course, doing what 'it puts', but it is doing that with a childlike faith that what 'it puts' is right. It is the getting rid of fear and desire and simply trusting. But it is not an easy think to get rid of the fear of being dull or the desire of showing off… 'Keeping time' is a small thing in music, but rhythm is a great thing in a character; and character makes a musician.[77]

In addition to general mentions of rhythmic vitality or energy in his performance style, some were led to reflect more deliberately on how such a rhythmic approach can inflect the performance of a Bach dance movement: 'Samuel's indomitable sense of rhythm made the contrasting metres in the Courante clear and the Sarabande with its *agréments* most noble. How few there are that can take a thing so slow as that and make it a thrill to the last bar!'[78] It is therefore not merely speed or emphasis that prompts such a statement, but a sense of expressiveness that is articulated by rhythmic as well as melodic variety. Crucially, Samuel's performances influenced a discourse in which the suites of dances should above all be characterised in terms of varying rhythmic treatment. This could have become an accepted descriptor for Samuel's performances. Two responses to the same Bach week in 1928 employ a strikingly similar – and literary – tone and the same focal point to describe the experience: on 4 May, 'the source of vitality which enables him to put forth so much energy and which holds the attention of the audiences in an unrelaxing grip is his rhythm';[79] then, in the June issue of *The Musical Times*, 'the miracle is performed by virtue of rhythm, and the audience is held in a grip like the Ancient Mariner's by rhythm… He is the master of every rhythmic device employed by Bach within that unfaltering, unhurrying fundamental pulse.'[80] These are descriptions of a kind of performing which evidently changes the accepted norms inherited from the romantic era, but which does not necessarily equate to a metrical, pared-down performance. It possibly highlights some of the two-way traffic between varying conceptions of Bach and performance: if this is evidence that Samuel approached the vocabulary of Bach's compositions for keyboard not

76. *The New York Times*, 21 January 1927: 12; *The New York Times*, 23 January 1927: 24.
77. *The Times*, 7 June 1921: 8.
78. *The Times*, 8 May 1925: 12.
79. *The Times*, 4 May 1928: 14.
80. *The Musical Times*, June 1928: 548–49.

from a prevailing vantage point influenced by historical and analytic perspectives centred around the fugue and the choral works, but from the dance idioms embedded not just in the suites of dances, but in many other movements, then these descriptions of his rhythmic sense reveal a highly thought-provoking contribution to Bach performance.

Perhaps most unusual is the critics' description of how Samuel achieves a variety of colour and phrasing. In some instances, particularly in the early part of the 1920s, Samuel's treatment is described in terms of instrumental inspirations: '[He] alone among pianists seems to have as great a resource in phrasing as a violinist with a perfect command of the bow'.[81] Scholes adds, 'he has a marvellously developed sense of tone-colour, so that he can give you something like the variety possible on the harpsichord of Bach's day, with all its mechanical contrivances of two keyboards and an array of stops and pedals.'[82] It must be stressed that Scholes is referring to a way of varying phrasing, shape, and articulation, rather than the simple and by then already well-worn practice of adding octaves to replicate the adding of stops. Later in Samuel's career, what may have been the same musical device was coming to be understood differently by commentators. Several reviews of his last Bach week in 1935 characterise him as a proponent of a comparatively free approach to performing Bach on the modern piano rather than an aesthetically restrained Bachian: 'Samuel has always stood for the principle that when Bach's "Klavier" music is played on the piano the piano should be frankly itself. He admits none of those conscious restrictions of tone and pedalling which were more prevalent among pianists in the days before the modern revival of the harpsichord'.[83] Another column adds for emphasis that 'Samuel's frankly pianistic method of playing permits the use of every kind of phrasing and a wide range of tone.'[84] For others, this constitutes grounds for misgivings: 'Not everyone can admire the way in which Mr Samuel frankly translates Bach in terms of the modern piano'.[85] When Walter Gieseking came to London in 1926 and performed the Partita in B-flat major BWV 825, the first point of comparison for critics was Harold Samuel, in which the latter was characterised not as an ascetic devotee, but as a much freer artistic personality: 'Mr Gieseking [makes] the piano do what

81. *The Times*, 29 May 1921: 16.
82. *The Observer*, 5 June 1921: 10
83. *The Times*, 6 May 1935: 10.
84. *The Times*, 8 May 1935: 12.
85. *The Monthly Musical Record*, June 1935: 109.

it was never meant to do… Every possibility and licence peculiar to the modern instrument was expunged and the result was a delightful piece of character playing, unlike the care-free style of Harold Samuel'.[86] Here we see evidence not that Samuel's performance style was changing, but that expectations and norms relating to Bach pianism were changing around him.

Samuel's performance habits as encapsulated by the three themes identified by Scholes – voice-leading, rhythm, and colour – help to situate him at the crossroads of several pianistic traditions, in which concrete musical events would convey varied and changing interpretations. In the combination of a decidedly rhythmic concept of the music's vitality with a varied use of timbre in phrasing,[87] Scholes is identifying a central ambiguity which in later years would become less and less tenable as manifested by newspaper accounts. Most importantly, Samuel's example shows that his ostensibly similar musical events met with changing responses which may be attributable to changing norms between the first Bach Week in 1921 and the last in 1935.

Critical Responses: Comment

Returning to this body of music criticism in search of different insight, I now contemplate the broader discussions that Samuel's Bach weeks may have provoked, and how these performances were used as raw material for reflections that were gradually reshaping norms of Bach performance between the two World Wars. Two underlying concerns emerge: first, the nascent debate about historical verisimilitude in performance; second, how characterisation of Samuel's merits as a Bach performer related to ethical reflections on Bach's place in contemporary musical life.

In the treatment of Bach *as* historical, early responses, read from today's vantage point, seem to lack urgency, being more interested in practicalities. The idea of recreating eighteenth-century performance appeared only tangentially in observations that Samuel 'succeeded now and then in suggesting the varieties of colour possessed by the two-manual [harpsichord]'[88] or that he 'gave changing lustres to music written for a

86. *The Musical Times*, December 1926: 1124.

87. The connection I infer between timbre/colour and phrasing follows on from note 84 in this chapter and the corresponding quotation.

88. *The Times*, 22 October 1926: 16.

monochrome medium'.[89] The success of the performance thus depends first and foremost on character and effect, with instrumental means of realisation being relegated to incidental contingencies. This of course is predicated on the modern piano being a natural, value-free medium that can merely depict – an assumption which is open to challenge today. Moreover, the reference to a 'monochrome' medium in which Bach was forced to work signals awareness of the harpsichord, but scepticism about its merits.

One critic who was nevertheless preoccupied by the question of authenticity was Richard Aldrich, of the *New York Times*. His interest in authenticity, however, was not necessarily articulated in terms of restoring eighteenth-century performance practice, as might be expected today, but such a concern nevertheless framed Aldrich's assessment of Samuel's performances in New York. He wrote a series of articles throughout the Bach Week of 1927, delving into an unprecedented level of detail. On the first day, he included wide-ranging musings about the difficulties of playing Bach in the twentieth century. He identified the difference of instrumental means between past and present as a problem in need of resolution:

> Bach lived on the very frontier of modern music; but, so far as its physical means and apparatus are concerned, hardly passed that frontier. His musical thought and inspiration are to us fresh and vital and ever-appealing; but they employ instruments that are in part obsolete and in part have been developed into almost new characters.[90]

Mentioning the transcriptions and performances of Stokowski as well as the historical research of Landowska, he cited Samuel as an example of a potential compromise:

> Mr Samuel presents [Bach's keyboard works] to his listeners as [they] never could have sounded to Bach's listeners. The modern pianoforte is capable of much that the ancient harpsichord was incapable of; and in turn lacks some of its powers. But modern ears are not those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and if any compromise has to be made – the discussion is an old one – we are fortun[at]e in having Mr Samuel to make it for us.[91]

For Aldrich, the piano 'is a different instrument, in principle and in effect; but it offers not serious or, at any rate, no complete falsification of Bach's intentions.'[92] At the end of that week, Aldrich would publish an extended essay 'The Modernizing of Bach', reprinted the following year in an edited volume, in which he considered these questions at greater

89. *The Times*, 4 May 1928: 14.

90. *The New York Times*, 19 January 1927: 20.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

length. In it, Aldrich mused on the familiar theme of reconciling a repertoire that seems alive and modern to a twentieth-century ear with original instrumentations that still sounded foreign:

> it was not so easy as it first seemed to recreate the work of Bach for the public of the present day. Bach wrote for the public of his time. He stood at the confines of the modern world, but never crossed them, so far as concerns the means and apparatus he deployed. *Reflections such as these are aroused by certain valiant attempts at the performance of Bach's music for modern listeners.*[93]

For the leading critic of the *New York Times,* Samuel's event contributed new substance to the discussion of Bach performance in terms of the possibilities offered by historical reconstruction. In Aldrich's view, this was achieved through the ambivalent nature of Samuel's modernising aesthetic: performing 'the clavier pieces, as they appear on the printed page' without doublings, but crucially, on the modern instrument. 'The effect is not that of the harpsichord … but the effect does not seem to be lacking.'[94] The question of how to go about modernising was an absorbing one, and Samuel provided him with possibilities, as his criticism in the *New York Times* demonstrates. Just as Howard Ferguson noted how the appreciation of Bach was not always a foregone conclusion, so too must it be said about this style of Bach performance on the modern piano at a time when it had come under challenge from various authenticity discourses.[95] While Samuel's performances themselves may not have secured a prominent place in posterity, his example was one of those that provided a counter-example in press criticism between the archetypes most publicly associated with Landowska and Busoni.

The ethically charged terms that are used to describe Samuel's performances also attract attention, possibly because they emerge out of a distinctly devotional stance that was still perhaps expected of the exponents of Bach's music. Ernest Newman wrote on the occasion of the 250th anniversary: 'it is Bach, who keeps the minds of thoughtful musicians working hardest and most constantly… Bach will always be a musician's musician.'[96] Newman had had the opportunity many times before to cast Samuel in a similarly devotional light: 'he sinks himself completely in the music. He has temperament, but it never gets out of hand. He has technique, but we are conscious of it never for its own sake,

93. Aldrich 1928: 148–49. My italics

94. Aldrich 1928: 157.

95. Landowska (1906) 1926 and Dolmetsch 1915 were two widely circulated monographs from this time.

96. Newman (1935) 1956: 118–19.

but only as a servant to music.'[97] Making the same connection between an aesthetic of moderation and a stance of dedication towards Bach's music, Dent claims furthermore that Samuel 'is more interested in Bach than in himself – indeed … he is more interested in music than in Bach'.[98] In America as well, Samuel is praised for his virtues of 'unassuming sincerity… musicianship, proportion, and taste. There is no musical oratory … no superfluous effect designed to impress the unknowing and dim the mirror of Bach's music.'[99]

Many of the features noted in the reports – most notably voice-leading, rhythm, and colour/phrasing – came to be associated with more general values of sobriety, restraint, and honesty. The detailed descriptions of performances undertaken in Chapters 6 and 7 permit one to connect observable features to descriptions such as this. Because Samuel is disciplined about voice leading, it is said that 'his playing courts the architectural rather than the emotional'[100]; because it is rhythmically alive, 'Samuel has the sense of the movement of Bach's art'[101]; through variation in phrasing, 'his playing disclosed the freshness and vitality of [the] music, its many-sided expressiveness'.[102] The rejection of sentimentalism features prominently in such value judgements, and some accounts even suggest that the wider repertoire outside Bach would benefit from the evolutions in Bach performance that Samuel was performatively proposing. Returning to Dent's review of the 1923 'week', we note these remarks:

> He could hold his audiences equally well with Beethoven or Chopin… Bach is what would be called unemotional; a six days' orgy of emotion would be more than his audience could stand… It is not usual to play Beethoven or Chopin unemotionally. Mr Samuel might, if he like, upset that tradition.[103]

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97. *The Observer*, 5 June 1923: 16.
98. *The Nation and Athenaeum*, 12 May 1923: 203.
99. *The New York Times*, 9 January 1935: 23.
100. *The New York Times*, 11 January 1935: 28.
101. *The New York Times*, 10 December 1935: 31.
102. *The New York Times*, 20 January 1927: 20.
103. *The Nation and Athenaeum*, 12 May 1923: 203. It is worth reflecting on the wider significance of Dent's remark here. It is true that Bach may have been considered a 'neutral' composer due to the relative sparseness of his notation. Undoubtedly, Bach pianism was in many ways atypical of broader performance approaches in the early twentieth century. Without taking at face value the implicit claims being made here about the value and desirability of an emotionally controlled performance approach, one may see in this passage how the aspiration towards this *supposed* sobriety was by no means thought of as something to be limited to Bach.

This sense of fatigue with expressive maximalism in performance is echoed in other accounts rejecting virtuosity as a medium for artistic expression. Aldrich added: 'no piano playing has ever had less the taint of the virtuoso playing about it than this of Mr Samuel'.[104] Indeed, the very format of the Bach Weeks themselves – through their almost devotional atmosphere – came to acquire an ethical dimension of their own that is suggested by Edward Dent's response to the 1923 Bach Week. It begins with an atmospheric and almost humorous description of the public that flocked to see Samuel perform:

> Once more, Mr Harold Samuel has assembled the faithful for a week's retreat devoted to the spiritual exercises (in heathen tongue, the *Clavierübung*) of Saint John Sebastian… Indeed, the Aeolian Hall is so dark that we hardly know whether we are in a church or at the cinema. But there is a reason for this. Mr Samuel's audience is, or is said to be, distinguished – very distinguished. You may not find among his congregation those conspicuous men of letters who frequent the bar at the Russian Ballet, or those lovely ladies who talk so loudly through the performances of the Phoenix Society; but such is the eminence of some of his auditors that the room must be darkened lest their incognito be revealed.[105]

The event is described in opposition to a variety of stereotyped characters from within the concert hall: against philistinism, against the inflation of virtuosity, but also – it must be noted – against a fashionable concert-going society in which snobbery and philistinism converge. This account is not completely incompatible with descriptions of Samuel's wide appeal: though mention is made of distinguished members of the audience, and of the absence of many of these concert hall caricatures, this does not preclude the presence of committed lovers of Bach from diverse backgrounds.

It is worth reflecting on how these critical responses fit into a pattern of changing norms within British music criticism in the early twentieth century. The critic's primary preoccupation was still the appraisal of new works and participation in the connected aesthetic debates – a range of activity that mainly played out in the present tense. The distinctions between musicology and journalism remained porous, just like the boundary between criticism and academia. According to Nigel Scaife, 'criticism was written by men of widely differing vocations and … critics regularly undertook a wide range of literary and non-literary activities as part of a multifaceted career. The lack of standardization in

104. *The New York Times*, 24 January 1927: 14.

105. *The Nation and Athenaeum*, 12 May 1923: 203.

critical practice is a characteristic feature of the period.'[106] Christian Kennett, describing the dilettantish state of criticism by gentleman scholars, adds that 'quality varied widely, often revealing more about the critic than the music.'[107] A bitter exchange of rebuttals after a performance in 1894 of the *Matthew Passion* by the Bach Choir conducted by Charles Villiers Stanford provided the impetus for one of the first self-conscious reflections on musical criticism.[108] Younger critics such Ernest Newman and Edward Dent would strive over the course of the following decades for a more systematic, professionalised criticism.[109] Paul Watt relates that at the end of the nineteenth century 'the journalist of old, the writer of the police report, as Runciman described the practice, was overtaken by a style of criticism that was thoughtful, carefully crafted and comparative.'[110] In the early years of the twentieth century, this new criticism continued to deal primarily with the appraisal of new works. While the changing winds of the post-war era and the various controversies surrounding modernism ushered in an era of relative pluralism, this transformation of the music critic into a respectable and professionalised figure is the defining shift of the era.

As was seen in Chapter 2, Bach was highly regarded as a benchmark or example, either on which to pass judgement on recent composition, or as a precedent on which to justify current practice or politics. This tendency is particularly pronounced in the outlook of the 'Oxford–RCM' axis, encompassing Parry and Grove, and stretching to Tovey.[111] For Harvey Grace, who may also not be unfairly described as one of the inheritors of this academicist tradition, Bach and other greats from the primarily German lineage could frame debates about nationalism in music: 'when the next truly big figure comes, he will not be a nationalist… He will have, like Palestrina and Bach and Beethoven and Handel and Wagner, the European mind.'[112] Bach, along with Wagner, is frequently enlisted in the

106. Scaife 1994: 9.

107. Kennett 1995: 503.

108. See Scaife 1994: 56; Watt 2018: 17–18; Stanford 1894; *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 March 1894: 3; Ibid. 20 March 1894: 3.

109. Walker 1966: xii.

110. Watt 2018: 99.

111. Scaife 1994: 17.

112. Grace 1928: 210.

controversies surrounding the compositions of Richard Strauss.[113] Other contrarian figures invoked Bach's cachet as a universal voice in defence of Stravinsky's modernism.[114]

Predictably, perhaps, Samuel does not seem to have received much interest from the critics who were interested in Bach as a historical musician and who were interested in recreating eighteenth-century performance practices. Signs of such an interest have a long history. As early as 1885, the bicentenary of Bach's birth. George Bernard Shaw advocated 'the renovation of the obsolete *oboe d'amore* ... and the execution of the trumpet parts on the instrument for which they were written', adding that 'our modern "orchestration" falls as far short of Bach's orchestral music as the medley of dance-tunes and stage thunder which constitutes Parisian grand opera falls short of one of his Cantatas.'[115]. As Scaife notes, this interest in historical reconstruction and restoring a sense of historical perspective drew influential advocates, not least among critics such as John Runciman and scholar-musicians such as Dolmetsch:

> Largely in response to innovative performances, the music of the Baroque was discussed at significantly greater length by Runciman than by other critics around the tum of the century. The rediscovery of Handel's operatic output, for example, previously neglected through the Victorian obsession with his oratorios, was an artistic conquest in which his informative articles played an important part alongside the more practical achievements of Dolmetsch, Terry and Squire. In speaking out against the famous Crystal Palace Handel Festivals, which involved massed choruses of quite unsuitable proportions, he employed a strong analogy, writing that 'they are inartistic orgies, these boasted festivals of ours, indecently gluttonous feasts where inartistic and even anti-artistic people may gorge themselves, to a musical accompaniment, upon false sentiment and grocer's piety'.[116]

For a time, all evidence suggests that this group of critics took a marginal interest in Samuel's Bach Weeks, and that Samuel had little to do with the revival of historical performance practices. One anecdote illustrating this mutual indifference is retold by Ferguson: responding to Wanda Landowska's exhortations about performing on original

113. While Ernest Newman could be eloquent about Samuel's performances in the press, Bach's appearances in his edited volumes of criticism are few and often serve only as argumentative fodder in other topics, such as his literary-critical duel with George Bernard Shaw (Newman 1960: 115-162).

114. Scaife 1994: 184.

115. Shaw (1885) 1960: 62.

116. Scaife 1994: 70.

instruments, he is reported to have said 'with perhaps more honesty than tact, "But Madame Landowska, I don't *like* the harpsichord!"'[117]

The phenomenon of the Bach Weeks attracted the notice of a certain kind of music critic. Newman, Colles, and Scholes all wrote at length on these events in the columns of the publications for which they continued to supply concert notices. These were writers whose interests lay in a broader reform of musical culture while still straddling the divide between writing books and writing newspaper reviews. Newman writes:

> Music in the newspapers should be the affair of experts who will treat it not as a matter of mere performance but as a matter of culture, who will interest the public in new good music as the literary expert interests it in new good books... English music suffers not from a variety of diseases but from one central disease only – the lack of a cultured public.[118]

While the emphasis is on works rather than performances, and on new music rather than canonical repertoire, one may sense in Newman's quotation a desire for collective self-betterment that may have motivated his approving remarks on Samuel and the Bach weeks. Samuel's peformances, involving sober pianism and unshowy demeanour, the choice of Bach as a canonical figure, the compromises between historical and modern, the straddling of high musical standards and broad appeal, were all elements that made the Bach Weeks align with the values of these new critics.

Epilogue

Samuel may have been a victim of his own success. Within his lifetime, the traits that set him apart were already becoming less rare by the 1930s among pianists, while harpsichordists such as Landowska had gained real prominence. With this same programme, less novel and perhaps less distinctive by then, there is evidence that tickets at the final Bach Week in 1935 sold less well than they had before.[119] With Bach's music more and more present on the concert stage, there are reasonable grounds to believe that

117. Ferguson 1962: 188 (italics in the original). This seems like the ideal situation in which to imagine Landowska's now notorious put-down, addressed to Pablo Casals in 1941: 'You play Bach your way; I'll play him *his* way' (see correspondence from her student Denise Restout to Teri Noel Towe. http://glenngould.org/mail/archives/f_minor/msg01400.html [accessed 11 July 2020]).

118. Newman 1963: 276.

119. *The Times*, 6 May 1935: 10.

expectations and norms about performance had changed as well. Even sympathetic critics such as Percy Scholes had noticed something out of place about his playing style: 'As the years go on, those peculiarities of Mr Samuel's interpretation, which at first were pleasantly piquant, have become stereotyped, and he seems in danger of stylising his mannerisms.'[120] According to Ferguson, there were no more Bach Weeks after that because of Samuel's failing health, although he continued to perform individual recitals until his death in 1937.[121]

Samuel's Bach Weeks ultimately amount to a bold statement that was made at a turning point in Bach's reception in Britain and throughout the world. This example has shown the initial successes of an eclectic performance approach at the confluence of several pianistic traditions, combining elements from romantic flexibility and modernist rigour. Both the choice of repertoire, giving new prominence to suites and dance-based movements, and Samuel's understanding of dance idioms in terms of rhythmic interest, introduced into the critical discourse previously unexplored facets of Bach's keyboard writing. While his stated aim was not framed explicitly in terms of authenticity, his events played a highly visible part in the public debate of their own time about how one should perform Bach's keyboard works. For Ferguson, the Bach weeks 'opened the eyes of the public, and of musicians themselves, to the vast treasure-house of Bach's keyboard music'.[122] One may conceivably speculate that the example provided by Samuel enriched the critical debates on the performance of and the place accorded to Bach's music in the concert life of both London and New York. This phenomenon therefore was of considerable significance at a time of wider change in British musical life.

120. *The Observer*, 6 May 1928: 23

121. Ferguson 1962: 187.

122. Ibid.

Figure 3.3. Harold Samuel in 1929[123]

123. Author's own collection. ACME Newspictures print dated 19 January 1929. Caption: 'New York City – Harold Samuel, well-known pianist as he arrived on the S.S. [*sic*] Baltic.'

4. Mixing and Matching
Editing for/as Performance

> If one takes the view that performing the work and presenting it convincingly in real time is an activity fundamentally different from producing the best possible edition of it, then one might perhaps hesitate to consign Christoph Wolff's 'mix-and-match' edition to the recycling bin just yet.[1]

Reflecting on approaches to editing Bach's Mass in B minor BWV 232, John Butt closes by alluding to broad, over-arching issues of editorial practice, such as the tensions between the fixity of a published text and the open-endedness of performance. Chapter 1 explored how attempts to write a definitive history inevitably arrive at only temporary solutions that are subject to continuous renegotiation. This dissertation is preoccupied, in general terms, with the fact that this is true of performances as well, but the same can also be said about what constitutes 'the best possible edition'. Moreover, the assumptions underlying this putative difference between performing and editing show themselves, in the light of this investigation, to be just as changeable.

Editions in the broadest sense – meaning the texts used by performers as well as the norms and values governing their preparation – remain a crucial element in the process of performance.[2] Although much recent scholarship reflects a shift in relative emphasis from studying music through fixed texts to understanding it through the social and cultural implications of performance, the texts themselves and the assumptions underlying them require attention if such a holistic history is to reflect contemporary preoccupations. This chapter aims to examine the role that editions played in the 'ecosystem' of performance and reception in Britain 1920–35 that is described in the other chapters of this dissertation. The scope of this chapter is therefore not limited to asking the question, 'What edition was on their music desk at the time of their musical education and the preparation of their performances?'. More questions follow on from this one:

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1. Butt 2008: 137.
2. As James Grier notes, the task of editing music 'stands at the centre of all musical activity. Before anything can be done to a piece, performance, analysis, historical studies, its text must be made known to those who would pursue these undertakings. And the presentation of the text is the editor's job. Nevertheless, it is not so much a tool, leading to higher ends, as an active, critical participant in those ends, fostering further critical study and the ultimate goal, one hopes, of all types of musical endeavour, the animation of the music in performance.' (1996: 37).

What texts were circulated and accepted?; What were the values governing the preparation of these texts?; How did these values play out in performance?; How were these editions used by performers themselves?

This chapter begins by investigating in greater detail the dissemination of Bach's texts in Britain. It continues with a discussion of a defining edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, prepared by Donald Francis Tovey with fingerings by Harold Samuel at the behest of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. In addition to its far-reaching influence on British musical culture during the succeeding decades, this edition exemplifies certain trends therein. Finally, I show how some of these trends, insofar as they apply to prerogatives wielded by the editor, appear in turn in the performer's treatment of Bach's text.

Assessing Editions: Then and Now

The standards against which editions are judged are highly contingent in terms of time, place, and intended audience: those of the interwar period are predictably different from those of the present day. Before turning to Tovey and other editions of Bach that were widely circulated, I present a brief overview of how editions may be described and categorised with due regard for this contingency. The early twentieth century is bordered on both sides by two highly productive periods of positivist editorial practice. On one side is the long nineteenth century, which was marked by the growth and recognition of musicology within the academy, as well as the first generation of scholarly *Gesamtausgaben*; Grier writes that 'a strong element in the undertaking was the creation of a canon, a central core of repertory, whose texts carried the same philological weight as their rivals in literature and political history.'[3]

On the other side, chronologically, is the post-World War II era, which would see the widespread acceptance of *Urtext* editions and give prominent emphasis to a series of attendant *ethical* principles emerging from this editorial approach.[4] The editing of Bach's text, in particular the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, discussed below, often exemplified these developments. Several kinds of editions also circulated at the same time, representing

3. Ibid.: 8–9.

4. Urchueguía 2006: 116, 122.

different intended audiences as well as differing understandings about where the final arbiter of truth can be said to lie.

The principles underlying the use and preparation of *Urtext* editions are so prevalently accepted in conservatoires and academic departments today that any deviation from them can acquire the frisson of a forbidden exploration.[5] However, if only to contextualise the alternatives that are to be found in historical editions such as Tovey's, these principles merit mention. Bertoglio summarises:

> These editions are realised by musicologists, whose principal objective (in most cases) is to determine which of the sources and of their variants is the most reliable. In a certain way, although this approach is clearly less idealistic and more scientific, there remains the underlying idea that a definitive 'text' can be established… that the work's essence lies there and that it can be reconstructed as far as the 'original' text is reconstructed.[6]

The final arbiter in the case of an *Urtext* edition is documentary evidence. Moreover, the pursuit of an unspoilt original is commonly undertaken with the aim of reconstructing the composer's final intentions, thereby retrieving the work in its ostensibly completed form. This goal is not prioritised in every case and is difficult to achieve in those where it is. In cases where relevant stages of revision exist, scholarly editions also set out to account for these in some form of critical commentary, often published separately. Certain repertoires lend themselves to variorum editions,[7] allowing one to compare a variety of known readings. Still, the end product that performers usually want to work from is a single, purportedly definitive version, and a dominant paradigm in the later twentieth century for producing such readings has been the *Fassung letzter Hand*,[8] the composer's final intentions as reconstructed by an editor. In the case of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, Richard Jones's preface to his 1994 edition illustrates the judgements behind this approach:

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5. See Rector 2014.

6. Bertoglio 2014: 31–2. See also Feder & Unverricht 1959.

7. See for example the Online Chopin Variorum Edition. http://www.chopinonline.ac.uk/ocve/ (accessed 16 August 2020).

8. The phrase, literally meaning 'the version from the last hand', is awkward to translate into English. Concern for the final intentions of a creator seems to have been expressed earlier and more urgently with reference to literary texts. This can be suggested by the use of a similar phrase, *Ausgaben der letzten Hand*, or 'editions from the last hand', in an episode Goethe recounted in 1806: a prospective reader told the poet that he would buy no books from a living author, lest the introduction of later editions compel him to choose between owning an inferior book that had been improved upon, and buying the same book twice (Beutler 1949: 398).

> The editor has been guided by the conviction that Bach's last thoughts, insofar as they can be established, should be accorded ultimate authority. This applies, in the editor's view, even where the player (or editor) has a preference for an earlier reading or regards it as superior… Bach's own judgement in such matters must always be the final arbiter.[9]

This quotation makes explicit the moral aspect of the *Fassung letzter Hand*: here Bach is posthumously brought in to weigh on the question. The principle is re-emphasised by Jones in the case of the competing readings in the Prelude in A-flat major from Book II (discussed below), about which he stresses that 'the composer's final readings represent the definitive version that he would want to be played and preserved'.[10]

The two great periods of positivism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries featured similar methodologies and overall aims: the discovery and evaluation of primary sources and the compilation of a single definitive text that would exemplify the work. This had its beginnings in Heinrich Schenker's *Erlaüterungsausgaben* of the late Beethoven Sonatas, appearing between 1913 and 1921. In this project, he aimed to demonstrate that

> with the exception of fingerings little or no editorial intervention was usually required – i.e. that Beethoven's orthography, when correctly understood and explained, provided all that was needed for understanding a work's structure and performing it according to his wishes; and ultimately to reveal the processes of mind of a supreme 'master' of musical composition – to uncover the workings of genius.[11]

However, the *Urtext* movement of the postwar era differed from the first great age of positivist editing in the nineteenth century. This came not only from a greater access to sources and more refined understanding of aspects such as palaeography and the attribution of authorship, but moreover from a more methodologically totalising aim. Writing in 1950 at the dawn of the age of *Urtext* and authenticity, Walter Emery differentiated the aims of the new authenticity from those of the nineteenth-century scholarly editions: 'no editor must be content with choosing the "best" of the readings that lie before him: he must find out why they differ. No amount of musicianly acquaintance with Bach's style will enable an editor to distinguish between genuine and corrupt readings.'[12] In this essay Emery was arguing that the task of the editor should be to explain

9. Jones 1994b: 7.
10. Ibid.: 185.
11. Schenker Documents Online. https://schenkerdocumentsonline.org/profiles/work/entity-001733.html (accessed 16 August 2020).
12. Emery 1950: 297.

and assess divergence rather than merely compile plausible authoritative readings from sources and select one, as he suggests the old Bach Gesellschaft edition and Bischoff's complete edition of the keyboard works had done. The wording of Emery's remark – dismissing 'musicianly acquaintance' as a reliable source of insight for making editorial decisions – is also aimed at the enduringly popular editions that relied on precisely this approach. Within this category, Bertoglio makes an important distinction between the analytical instructive edition and the performance instructive edition, each of which had different aims.[13] The limitations of taking an undifferentiated view of 'interventionist' editions is illustrated by Nicholas Cook with reference to Schenker's criticism of Hans von Bülow's editorial approach: here the contention was not whether an editor should determine the text on the basis of purely musical criteria, but what musical criteria were admissible.[14]

Performance instructive editions were most often justified by the editor's reputation as a performer or proximity to the composer. They function as an inscription of certain performing habits, with the aid of added notation, articulation, dynamics, fingerings and accompanying notes. These would include Artur Schnabel's edition of the Beethoven Sonatas, or Alfred Cortot's *Éditions de Travail*. The former is famous for its dense tangle of editorial markings,[15] and the latter for its fastidious exercises and floridly literary commentaries.[16] These editions thrived on implicit claims that their editors functioned as authoritative guides on the true intentions of the composer or as inheritors of an authentic performance tradition.[17]

Of much more interest to the current chapter is Bertoglio's other category, the analytical instructive edition, which exhibits a stance on 'scholarliness' that may seem

13. Bertoglio 2012: 21.

14. 'Schenker does not question Bülow's right to determine the text on musical grounds; what he questions is the specific grounds on which Bülow does so… Through the analysis of specific passages, he shows how editors have time and again corrupted and distorted the texts of the masterworks because they could not see through the surface of the music to the underlying structure.' (Cook 1991: 81–2).

15. 'One aspect of the Schnabel edition that will constantly be problematic is the tremendous number of printed instructions to the performer. At times, the pages seem to contain more instructions than notes' (Marchant 1984: 82).

16. 'Cortot is always bent on proposing an aesthetic image of the whole work that sparks the imagination and gives a vivid idea of what one is working towards' (Taylor 1988: 483); 'In his later editions, those of the 1940s in particular, he is often long-winded and needlessly complicated in his manner of expression' (ibid.: 486).

17. Bertoglio 2012: 26.

ambiguous to the present-day reader. Such editions place the editor in a potentially equally interventionist stance, predicated as they are on the assumption that 'a deep and thorough study of the score's structure (form, harmony, melody, counterpoint etc.) could reveal the composer's creative process'.[18] Schenker's editions, or 'reconstructions', exemplify many of the traits of the analytically informed edition.[19] These instructive editions, like some of the older generation of positivist editions, differ from present-day Urtexts in that they are less wedded to the principle of the *Fassung letzter Hand,* preferring instead to assemble possibilities based on the analytical or style-critical insight of the editor.[20]

Curiosity about different readings and a willingness to less rigidly adhere to the single, final writ of a printed *Urtext* are both given new vigour by the affordances of the digital age. Rink reflects on the performance-related uses and possibilities for future use in digital editions, including the potential to assemble one's own version using extant variants and possibly guided by a critical apparatus.[21] The case of Tovey's editorial practice and the signs of this kind of 'use' (in the sense of process over product) on the part of performers can be seen a historical demonstration of how such possibilities were explored in the pre-digital age.

From Manuscripts to Editions: A Brief Overview

In Bach's keyboard output, the work which had the greatest influence on the lives of musicians, and whose trajectory through successive Bach revivals is the most prominent, is the *Well-Tempered Clavier*: in many ways the textual history of the '48' sets the tone for that of Bach's other keyboard compositions. Bertoglio writes that it 'may be considered as a paradigmatic work, mirroring all the steps of the history of music editing'.[22] Although the set of Preludes and Fugues had long been transmitted in manuscript copies among musicians – especially with its pedagogical role in mind – throughout the second half of the eighteenth century,[23] the first editions of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* appeared only in

18. Ibid.: 29.
19. See Cook 1991.
20. As is seen below in the case of Hans Bischoff's Bach edition, some of the nineteenth-century scholarly editions were conducive to being used this way by performers themselves.
21. See Rink 2020a.
22. Bertoglio 2012: 128.
23. Zenck 1986: 111.

1801. They were printed nearly simultaneously in three cities: Johann Nikolaus Forkel, whose posterity was assured by his Bach biography,[24] prepared the one printed by Hofmeister & Kühnel in Leipzig; the version of Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwenke appeared in Bonn in the catalogue of Simrock; and another was printed in Zürich by Nägeli but did not explicitly acknowledge an editor.[25] Each of these used sources that had filtered through the sons, pupils, and second-generation pupils of the composer.[26]

According to Matthew Dirst, the ensuing decades were crucial to Bach reception because of the appearance of 'editions that incorporated, for the first time, specific ideas about interpretation', which bridged the gap between public and private reception.[27] None was more influential in the nineteenth century than the one produced by Carl Czerny in 1837. This edition purported to preserve Beethoven's performances of the Preludes and Fugues: the Czerny edition therefore distinguishes itself not for its choice of a particular version or reading of the text,[28] but for allegedly defining and transmitting a performance tradition.[29] Its wealth of editorial guidance is notationally detailed, deploying an almost Beethovenian arsenal of markings to denote tempo, articulation, dynamics, phrasing, and expression. This approach was not by any means unanimously accepted, but guided generations of amateurs who were unaccustomed to the bare appearance of the Forkel or later Bach Gesellschaft editions.[30] Elements like emphasising fugue subjects in the texture, or optimising fingering for polyphonic playing were enshrined in this text, which remained popular throughout the nineteenth century.[31] Interestingly enough, it may be suggested that Czerny's fingerings grew to have a canonical status of their own: according

24. See Forkel (1802) 1920. This translated reprint, with addenda by Charles Stanford Terry, was a widely read source in Britain in its own time.

25. Riemenschneider 1942; Dirst 2012: 92.

26. Jones 1994b: 10–12.

27. Dirst 2012: 143

28. The preface casually mentions that it was compiled by 'comparing the earlier editions and some older manuscripts' (Czerny [1837]: 3).

29. Dirst further argues that Czerny's approach is broadly reflective of a performance tradition that had its roots in late eighteenth-century Vienna that can also be seen also in Mozart's arrangements of the Fugues from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (2012: 145–50).

30. See Dirst 2012: 143–68. The nineteenth-century reception of Czerny's edition is rich and complex: he had illustrious followers in addition to this amateur following. For example, Brahms praised Czerny's fingerings (Litzmann 1971: 29), and Chopin carefully inscribed Czerny's expressive markings into his own copy, printed by Richault of Paris (See Eigeldinger 2010).

31. Bertoglio 2012: 157; Dirst 2012: 145.

to Kroll, later editions such as one printed by Brandus in Paris carefully added Czerny's fingerings, even in passages where textual readings of Czerny's editions had not been adopted.[32]

While Czerny was responsible for giving the *Well-Tempered Clavier* a wide dissemination in the early nineteenth century, and remained popular with amateurs, all indications suggest that during the rest of the century, the most defining steps towards a definitive Bach text took place in Germany during the early heyday of positivist editing alluded to above. Two editions would have a lasting influence on professionals and serious connoisseurs. The Bach Gesellschaft (Bach Society) of Leipzig[33] was founded in 1850, the centenary of Bach's death, with an ambitious aim, that of publishing all of Bach's works. Its approach applied philological methodologies to the aim of establishing a definitive text: its editors compiled, compared, and assessed primary sources more thoroughly than any of their predecessors. The complete edition appeared in instalments between 1850 and 1898. Volume 14 contained the *Well-Tempered Clavier* as well as a lengthy preface by its editor Franz Kroll.[34] This is supplemented by addenda, which appeared later in Volumes 36 and 45 of the series, summarising new findings. Even in its visual appearance, unadorned by expressive indications or dynamics, it gestured toward the sparse quality of the autographs. In effect, this publication, characterised as it was by a scrupulous and exhaustive research ethic, marked a turning point in Bach scholarship.

Hans Bischoff provides a separate evaluation of the text in his complete edition of the keyboard works.[35] It abides by a similarly scholarly ethos, involving a comprehensive description and assessment of the extant sources. However, its visual aspect reflects a relevant conceptual difference. Bischoff discusses divergent readings and offers alternative variants in footnotes rather than in a separate critical commentary. This makes it easy and practical to cross-reference with the score open on one's instrument. His edition also does not present a completely untouched text, as he adds markings to suggest phrasing, dynamics, tempos, and fingerings. The approach is more straightforwardly practical. To a present-day reader this might make the resulting document resemble a romantic 'performer's edition' such as Czerny's, but Bischoff set a high standard of

32. BGA 14: xxi.

33. Unrelated to the Bach Society of London discussed in Chapter 2.

34. BGA 14.

35. Bischoff 1883 & 1884 for the *Well-Tempered Clavier*; Bischoff 1880 for the Suites.

editorial transparency and philological meticulousness, which he combined with his own firsthand insight as a performer.[36]

Until Kurt Soldan's postwar Peters Edition and the *Neue Bach Ausgabe,* there were no independent attempts to re-evaluate Bach's text on the basis of primary sources; Bischoff and the old Bach Gesellschaft edition therefore carried weight as scholarly sources of insight well into the twentieth century.[37] These two texts are frequently mentioned in first place among scholarly sources.[38] In the programme notes for the Bach Choir's multi-day festival in 1920, it was specified that all the engraved examples followed the Bach Gesellschaft.[39] Another example of the trust placed in them was that when Schenker prepared his edition of the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue,* he simply annotated a copy of the Bach Gesellschaft edition and sent it the printer.[40] For the *Well-Tempered Clavier,* Bischoff and Kroll are most often contrasted with Czerny, whose output occupies the contrasting and – in scholarly quarters – somewhat disreputable category of instructive editions.

But the editing of Bach's text can never truly be finished. Although this section has accounted chronologically for the editions that circulated, a few more considerations merit discussion as they contextualise Tovey's editorial practice. The second book of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* is especially challenging to edit because the available evidence suggests that it was revised several successive times in the 1740s, if not continuously throughout the decade. Although an autograph of the second book, reflecting an intermediate stage, was rediscovered in the late nineteenth century (see below), editors have resorted to the copies of students. Stemmatology and other dating methods now give a reasonably detailed sense of how text appeared at the end of Bach's life,[41] but a relatively wide variety readings circulated well into the twentieth century, thereby significantly

36. Oppermann 2001: 245–50.

37. Kirkpatrick 1984: 15–16.

38. *The Music Teacher,* April 1931: 217; Tovey 1924a: 7; Schweitzer (1905) 1911: 321; Dannreuther 1896: 159.

39. Music Collections Hirsch.2117. British Library, London.

40. Cook 1991: 80.

41. A comprehensive account of this scholarly work is well beyond the scope or requirements of this chapter, but nevertheless amounts to an important background. See Tomita 1990; Tomita 2007b; Jones 1991; Franklin 1989. One should, of course, exercise healthy scepticism towards the claim that present-day scholarly editions propose a permanent solution to the problem.

complicating the task of establishing a single text. Tovey's own solutions to this problem, and how these solutions interact with performance, are of interest to the wider study.

Trends in Britain

According to Alfred Dürr, 'England can lay undisputed claim to the glory of being the first country aside from Germany to have recognised the significance of Johann Sebastian Bach and to have disseminated his works long before the Berlin revival of the *St Matthew Passion* in 1829'.[42] By the time of the earliest editions, a number of autographs and likely first-generation manuscript copies had already found their way to England, brought by musicians such as Johann Christian Bach and Muzio Clementi, as well as by collectors such as Queen Charlotte and Richard Fitzwilliam, the 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam.[43]

Notably, these sources included a near-complete autograph of Book II, now housed at the British Library.[44] Annotations in the hand of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach confirm that it came into his possession at some point,[45] but its ownership can be conclusively traced only as far back as the early nineteenth century, when it belonged to Clementi in London. Later studies have determined that the source was inscribed between 1739 and 1742.[46] It remained in private collections in Britain until 1895, when it was acquired by the British Museum.

Prominent manuscript copies include a copy of the London autograph, long thought to be an autograph itself and possibly intended to be a duplicate of it, made in 1742 by an anonymous copyist and thought to have left Germany before 1850;[47] a copy presented to Charles Burney by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in 1772;[48] a bound collection in the library of Queen Charlotte, containing manuscript copies of both books of the '48' and Part III of the *Clavierübung* in an unknown hand;[49] a group of 22 fugues from Book II, made circa 1750 by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg;[50] and 12 fugues from Book II, likely made

42. Dürr 1993: 121.
43. Tomita 2004: 40–41.
44. British Library: Add Ms 35021.
45. Jones 1994b: 199.
46. Ibid.: 198. See also Franklin 1989.
47. British Library. Add Ms 38068.
48. lost.
49. British Library: R.M.21.a.9.
50. Royal College of Music: ms 26.

in Germany circa 1750.[51] The last two items listed here are thought to be the earliest extant Bach sources to have reached England.[52]

Motivated by the scarcity of printed copies and what he judged to be the poor quality of Broderip & Wilkinson's 1802 reprint of the Simrock edition, Samuel Wesley published his own edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* between 1810 and 1813, prepared in collaboration with Charles Frederick Horn. It might lay claim to being the first British Bach edition, but Wesley's main sources were two manuscript copies of the Nägeli edition, although he also encountered other copies in the possession of Horn and Augustus Kollmann.[53]

British editions mostly recreated the three principal readings that competed in Europe: Nägeli was reprinted by Lavenu, in addition to being the primary source for Wesley and Horn; Schwenke's Simrock edition was printed by Wilkinson & Co. and later by Preston; and Forkel's version was reprinted in 1819 by Boosey. The Czerny edition was reprinted a year after its publication by Cock's & Co.[54] Thus, with only minor differences of typography and orthography, the history of *Well-Tempered Clavier* editions in Britain largely maps the textual divergences that characterised early continental editions. This trend continued in the Victorian era. Bibliographies reveal that Augener published a new edition of the '48' in 1867, prepared by Ernst Pauer. Though Pauer himself was German, he would play a crucial role in the institutional life of music in Britain, eventually becoming a founding member of the teaching faculty at the Royal College of Music in 1883. His edition is closely related to that of Franz Kroll with added tempo markings.

Another prominent musician who emigrated from Germany and had a defining influence on the musical life of Britain through his performing and teaching at the RCM is Edward Dannreuther. His interest in primary sources and uncovering the original text by positivist means is typical of his time. In 1874, he solicited the assistance of private collectors in search of a manuscript source of the *Goldberg Variations*.[55] An account of a performance which he gave of this work in 1892[56] suggests that he amended the Bach

51. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: Music ms 161A.
52. Tomita 2004: 40–42, 83–84, 86, 104–11.
53. Jones 1994b: 204.
54. Tomita 2007a: 46.
55. *The Athenaeum*, 6 June 1874: 773–774.
56. *The Times*, 7 January 1892: 10.

Gesellschaft edition's text with findings from his own research – although it is unlikely that he consulted an autograph.[57] Other cases worth mentioning include a 1915 edition by Harold Brooks, which took advantage of the wartime embargo on German imports.[58] Doubtless these examples were influential, as were other later reprints of Czerny's annotated editions.

It was only in 1924 that a British edition would generate among musicians and writers the same level of interest and respect as those of Kroll and Bischoff. The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music released an instructive edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* for the use of pupils and teachers. The text and commentaries were prepared by Donald Francis Tovey and the fingerings by Harold Samuel. Seventy years after its publication, Richard Jones recorded that it remained the most widely used edition in Britain and had exerted a lasting influence on generations of musicians.[59]

Tovey's edition cannot be described as a fully independent attempt to determine Bach's text, however. Whereas the energies of Bischoff and Kroll had been devoted to comparing and evaluating primary sources, Tovey's introductory remarks articulate a different understanding of the editor's role:

> These three texts [BGA 14, Bischoff 1883 & 1884, and Dörffel 1898]… are now all that is necessary for a knowledge of what Bach actually wrote in *Das Wohltemperirte Klavier*. The present text collates these results and these results alone; and together with reasonings indicated by a practical knowledge of the clavichord, the harpsichord, of Bach's models in French ornamentation and Italian form, and of his vocal works, recombines them into something calculated to enable teachers and students to read Bach straightforwardly.[60]

Tovey invites comparison with Wesley a century earlier by working exclusively from secondary sources and knowledge imported from the continent. At the time he was

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57. Bach-digital.de identifies only four extant sources related to the *Variations* that are located in Britain, none of which is an autograph. They are all housed at the British Library. There are two first editions, K.10.a.41 and Mus. Hirsch III.40, and two manuscript copies in the hand of Samuel Wesley, Add. MS. 14344 and Add. MS. 31764. Mus. Hirsch III.40 arrived in Britain only in the twentieth century. Accounting for possible sources further afield, it should be added that first editions were at the time considered to be the main source for the *Goldberg Variations* (see BGA 3: xiii–xiv). This was the case until the discovery in 1975 and later authentication of Bach's *Handexemplar* (see Wolff 1976). However, Dannreuther's call for sources is not unusual at a time when new autographs were still routinely coming into public knowledge. It is reflective of a desire to excavate as many sources of insight as possible, in keeping with the positivist spirit of nineteenth-century editors alluded to above.

58. *The Observer*, 19 October 1924: 10.

59. Jones 1994b: 7.

60. Tovey 1924a: 7.

preparing his edition, the London autograph was housed in the British Museum and known to Bach scholars. It was identified and recognised too late for earlier editors to consider it, but the Bach Gesellschaft saw fit to include some of its divergences from Kroll's text in the later appendix to which Tovey refers. Tovey elected not to consult the manuscript, relying instead on published accounts.[61] Nevertheless, some readings in the London autograph that later became widely accepted first appeared in the main text of the Associated Board edition.

Tovey in Action

Grier observes that the editor's unavoidable responsibility is to make choices.[62] In determining these choices, Tovey eschewed the work on primary sources that characterised the editions of his scholarly predecessors in the nineteenth century. In the absence of the documentary criteria that Kroll and Bischoff worked with – transcription, palaeography, provenance, features of handwriting, among others – Tovey's approach was emblematic of the 'analytical instructive edition', looking for the 'DNA' of the work in its internal organisation and stylistic traits, rather than in its paper-and-ink instantiation.[63]

Even in cases where the documentary evidence available at the time gave robust support to a given choice of text, Tovey's discussion of textual issues draws heavily on analytical reasoning and a concern for formal and motivic cohesion. One example which was uncontroversial in scholarly circles by the early twentieth century was the issue of the so-called 'Schwenke bar'. This is an additional bar of material inserted between bars 22 and 23 of the Prelude in C major from Book I, and was already widely understood to be spurious.[64] It had appeared in the manuscript copy of Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke and in the edition he prepared for Simrock in 1801.[65]

Kroll and Bischoff both excise this bar and justify the deletion in terms that show that the primary concern was the uncertainty of its origin in the primary sources. Kroll writes:

> Whether this interpolation, which is found in nearly all other editions, should be attributed to Schwenke, or can be said to originate elsewhere, would be difficult

61. Dörffel 1898. Dörffel never examined the autograph either, but relied on Prout 1896.
62. See Grier 1996: 180–183.
63. See Bertoglio 2012: 29.
64. Keller 1965: 40; Müllermann n.d.; Barber 1970: 19–20; Jones 1994a: 137.
65. See for full details Jones 1994b: 166–67 under M3 and V. 1800, according to BGA 14: xx.

> to ascertain. At any rate, it is not authentic and does not appear in any other manuscript source. That the interval of a diminished third from the lower to the upper note is rare in the *Well-Tempered Clavier* … cannot be made to weigh against its authenticity, as the voice leading of the bass line, in this instance, is sufficiently justified.[66]

Bischoff's comment is briefer: 'Schwenke's manuscript inserts a bar here, which, although unauthenticated, has gained widespread use'.[67] In both of these remarks, the reference to voice-leading or the later usage take a subsidiary role to the incontrovertible documentary evidence.

It is possible that, basing his edition on these pre-existing scholarly editions, Tovey may not have needed even to mention the assessment of the sources, but at any rate, he applies style criticism first and foremost:

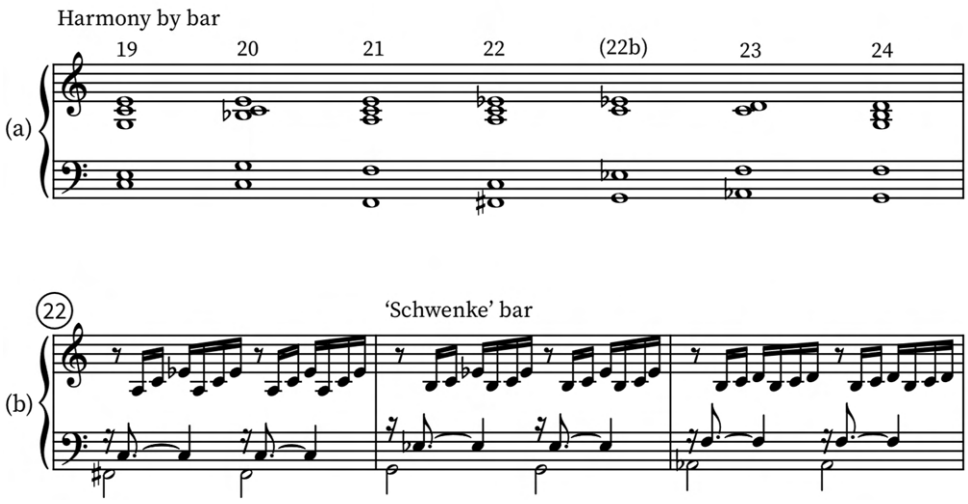
> The bar added by Schwenke between bars 22 and 23 shows the danger of misunderstanding one of Bach's most characteristic progressions, the skip in the bass from F♯ to A♭, avoiding striking the dominant until the long pedal-point begins. Probably Schwenke thought it desirable to have an even number of bars before reaching the point; this is, however, not necessary. But Schwenke (unlike Gounod and other moderns) did not misconstrue the harmony at bar 23, in which it is not the middle C which is unessential, but the B.[68]

There is a degree of ambiguity about how to reduce bar 23 to its constituent harmony: whether, in the upper voice, the c′ is a passing note between b and d′, or on the contrary, the c is constituent to the harmony and the b is an approach. In other words, it could be a diminished seventh V chord – B D F A♭ – or a half-diminished II chord – D F A♭ C. I have chosen to describe this harmony in Example 4.1.a consistently with Tovey's commentary.

66. 'Ob dieser Einschub, der in fast allen Ausgaben sich findet, auf Rechnung Schwenke zu setzen, oder ob er anderswoher stammt, möchte schwer aufzuklären sein. Jedenfalls ist derselbe nicht authentisch und findet sie in keiner anderen Handschrift. Dass der Schritt der verminderten Terz vom unteren zum oberen Tone im Wohltemperirten Clavier selten ist … kann gegen seine Echtheit nicht geltend gemacht werden, da er in dem Gange eben dieses Basses hinlänglich begründet ist.' BGA 14: 205; my translation.

67. 'Die Schwencke'sche Handschrift schaltet hier einen Takt ein, der, obschon unbeglaubigt, weiteste verbreitung gefunden hat.' Bischoff 1883: 9; my translation.

68. Tovey 1924a: 3.



Example 4.1. The inserted bar in the Prelude in C major (WTC I) BWV 846
(a) Harmonic schema of bars 19–24
(b) In context

Moving to a case in which there is uncertainty in terms of the primary sources, a passage in the Fugue in E major from Book II is emblematic both of Tovey's approach and of his style of argument. Having reached the cadence in C-sharp minor at bar 16, his analytical commentary states:

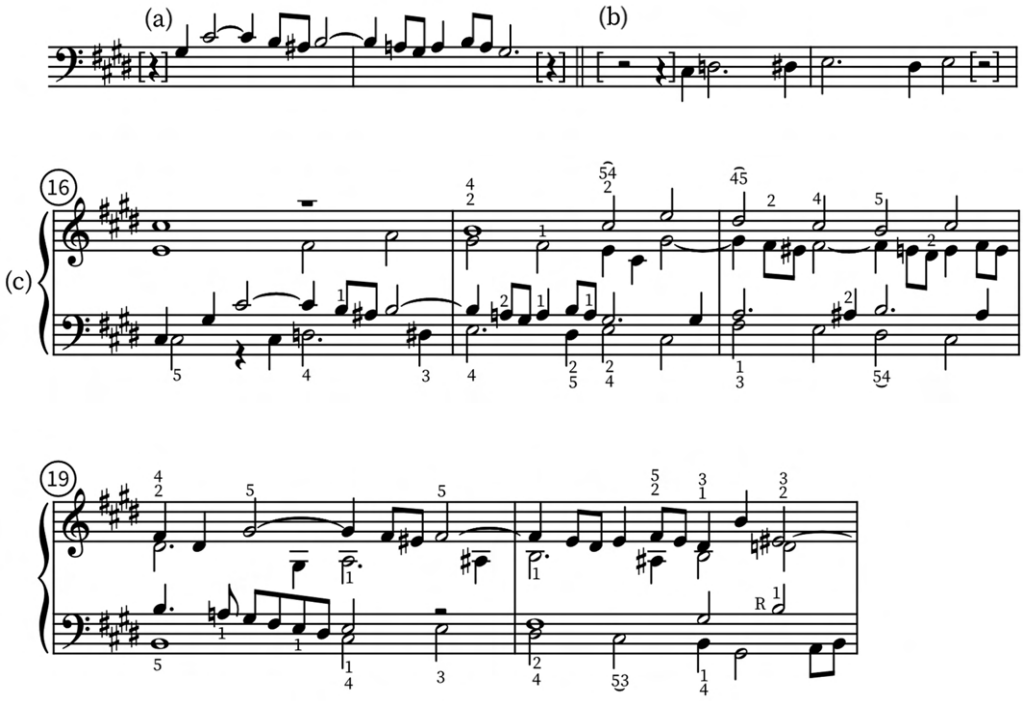
> Now comes the Second or Chromatic Stretto, a very important contrapuntal type, apt to remain unrecognised (like other typical events) in this Fugue by reason of the extreme terseness of the whole. In this the Subject is combined with two new Countersubjects full of chromatic steps [Example 4.2 (a) and (b)], forming a Triple Counterpoint. There is room for only three occurrences of these new Countersubjects, and, owing to the Stretto, they meet the Subject at a different point the second time; but they establish themselves with complete regularity (bars 16–17, tenor and bass; bars 17½–18 alto and tenor; 19–20 soprano and alto). From failure to recognise this, Kroll and Bischoff reject the necessary E♯ in bar 19 [soprano voice], which is well-attested in the MSS. of pupils; the only objection to it being a scruple as to the remainder of E♮ in the tenor, the very last kind of 'false relation' Bach would mind.[69]

It is likely that Kroll decided on *philological* grounds that this variant could not be positively attributed to the composer, and therefore followed copies from what Tomita calls the Autograph tradition.[70] In contrast, the reading which Tovey chose originates in

69. Tovey 1924b: 57.

70. Tomita 1990: 110. Jones asserts that the E♯ is faintly discernible in the London autograph, (1994b: 173), but the accidental is not included in the descendant copies of the Autograph (Groups B and C in Jones's catalogue of sources [1994b: 199]), which Kroll must have prioritised in this case.

the copies of Altnickol and Kirnberger as well as related second-generation copies.[71] In this case he agrees with Bischoff, but Bischoff's comment reveals different priorities: he writes about this passage 'E without ♯ is undoubtedly better, but it is only found in a few manuscript sources.'[72] Bischoff thus followed the evidence at his disposal against his own musical preferences, whereas Tovey makes no reference to the authority of the autograph or any other manuscript, despite ostensibly being vindicated by these sources. Rather, his preoccupation with an internal coherence in the various 'cogwheels' of the fugue forms the basis of his reasoning.



Example 4.2. Fugue in E major (WTC 2)
(a) and (b) 'Chromatic Stretto' Countersubjects
(c) Text as it appears in Tovey 1924b

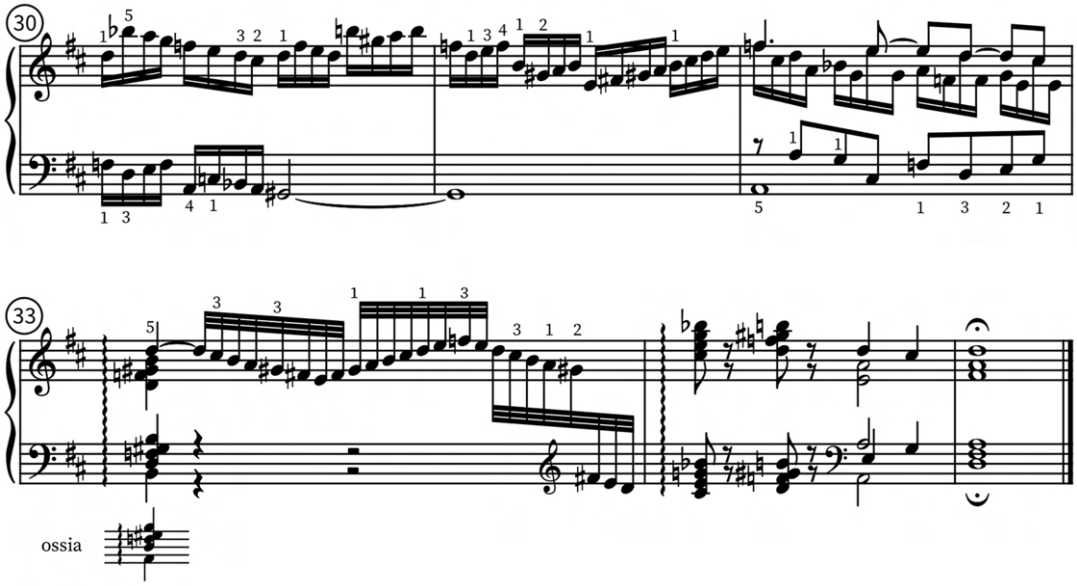
In the Prelude in D major from Book I, Tovey invokes similar reasons for adjudicating between the Kirnberger copies and the autograph when they provide divergent readings, as shown in Example 4.3. Tovey argues:

> The Pedal point on A was deserted in bb. 30–31 and has nothing to gain by revival here. The sound of the chord is in itself fine with A as bass, but B makes, with the following chords, an orderly progression of five steps in the bass from b. 30 to the

71. BGA 14: 251; Bischoff 1883: 42.

72. 'E ohne ♯ ist entschieden besser, doch steht es so nur in wenigen Handschriften.' Bischoff 1883: 42; my translation.

> middle of b. 34, and so gives due emphasis to the penultimate dominant when emphasis is required.[73]



Example 4.3. Prelude in D major (Book I) as it appears in Tovey 1924a

In the absence of textual uncertainty, his commentary about voice-leading in the Fugue in C-sharp minor from Book I rests on a large-scale understanding of the pacing of the fugue. He explains about the passage illustrated in Example 4.4:

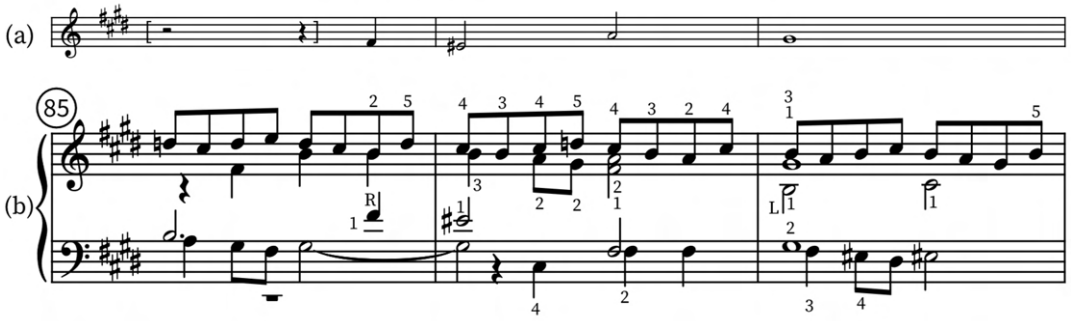
> There is the almost irresistible temptation to see, in bb. 85–7, another entry (in the subdominant) of the first subject. Such an entry is well-timed: Bach is descending from a great climax produced by the bold and characteristic device of the three successive entries of his subject, all in the tonic (bb. 73–83 – compare with the latter stages of the great G minor organ fugue). The subsequent tonic entry in b. 89 is in the same position as the second of the three, and, coming five bars after the end of the third, is too late to add to the cumulative effect, and too soon to avoid weakening it, unless attention is strongly directed to the subdominant in bb 85–8. An entry of the first subject in these bars exactly completes the scheme.[74]

Tovey even adds that an earlier edition (identified by Jones as the 1801 Nägeli edition) gives a crotchet rest on the third crotchet of the tenor part, reinforcing the entry.[75]

73. Tovey 1924a: 30.

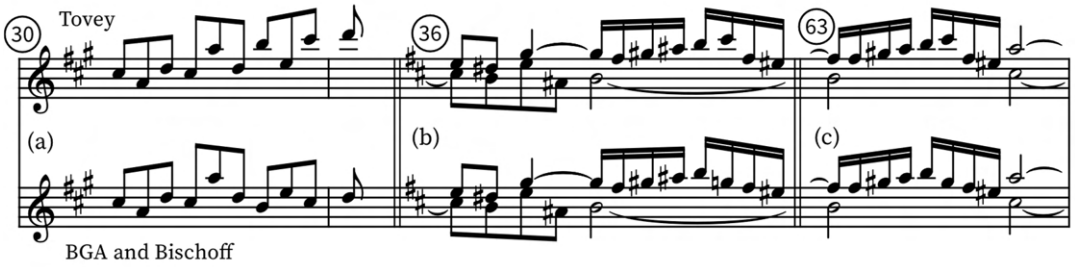
74. Tovey 1924a: 23.

75. Ibid.; Jones 1994a: 142.



Example 4.4. From the Fugue in C-sharp minor (WTC I)
(a) Subject entry mentioned in Tovey's commentary, overlaid on (b) the passage as it appears in the main text of Tovey 1924a

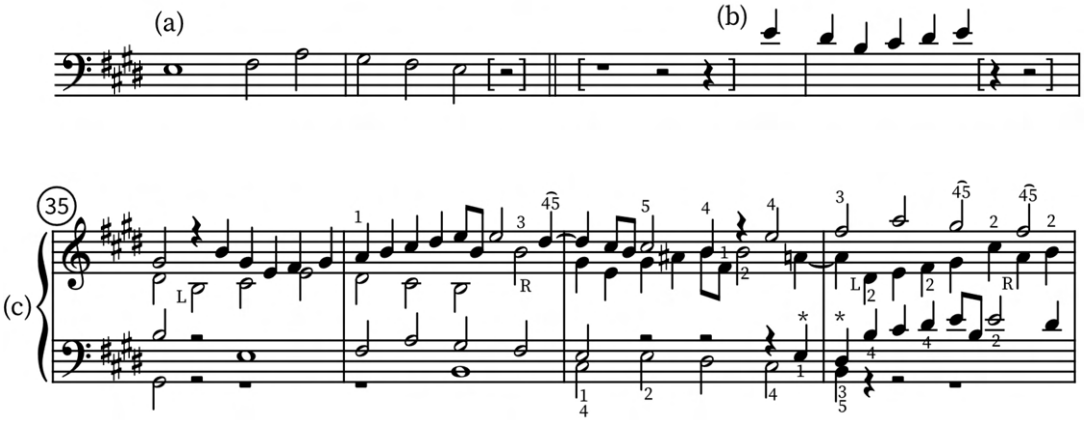
Tovey makes alterations to Bach's text as well. Some of these cases involve speculative but widely used variants, while others show more unique traits. Tovey follows Kroll and Bischoff in speculating on what Bach *would* have written, given a wider span on his keyboard. Kroll conjectures about this possibility in the appendix of BGA 14, while Tovey has no qualms about including it in the main text. Two of these variants are shown in Example 4.5. This is predicated on the conjecture that the composer would have written the countersubject consistently with its other appearances, had his keyboard given the possibility of writing above c'''. It should be specified that Tovey prints the variant in the Fugue in A major in the main text without comment, while the variants in the Fugue in B minor are presented in small print as ossias.



Example 4.5. (a) Fugue in A major (Book I)
(b) and (c) Fugue in B minor (Book I)

The continuity of the contrapuntal voices is a perennial issue that arises in the *Well-Tempered Clavier*. For Tovey, the maintenance of a plausible schema – one that may reasonably allude to a group of instruments or, better yet, voices – seems to guide his editorial choices. This approach affects some of his performance indications as well. As is common with him, it is enriched by a wide range of allusion to other Bach works. Tovey

argues that, like the Fugue in C major for organ BWV 547, the Fugue in C minor from Book II is in three parts until the entry of the bass line in bar 19 with the subject in augmentation. Tovey's conjecture here is interesting: '[the bass line] behaves in all respects like a long-deferred, climactic entry of organ pedals till the end of the fugue. There is some reason to think that Bach used 16' tone here, either on his harpsichord with a pedalboard or by registration or (on the clavichord) with a third hand.'[76] From bar 19 until the end, the bass line is doubled in small type in the original Tovey edition.



Example 4.6. Fugue in E major (WTC 2)
(a) Subject
(b) 'Inverted Diminution' described by Tovey
(c) Text as it appears in Tovey 1924b

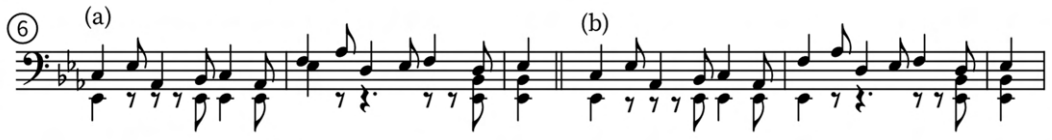
Other deliberate textual alterations are more unique to Tovey. In the Fugue in E major from Book II, Tovey marks two notes in bars 37 to 38 with asterisks in his edition (Example 4.6), about which his commentary states:

> There is little doubt that the two notes marked with an asterisk would have been written an octave higher by Bach if such stretches had been safe on an instrument with no damper pedal. We should then have an unmistakable entry of the Inverted Diminution, besides the best disposition of the harmony. There is no harm in adopting this.[77]

This is typical of 'analytical editions' in the sense that Tovey's concept of fidelity rests on a duty towards the work rather than to any putative intention of the composer to be inferred from documentary sources.[78]

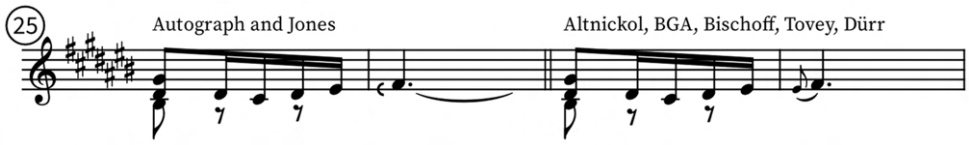
76. Tovey 1924b: 9.
77. Ibid.: 57.
78. See Bertoglio 2012: 30.

Alterations of this kind also appear in the Prelude in E-flat major (Book II), where Tovey sees 'no harm in substituting the low E♭ at the beginning of bar 7, likewise the low B♭ at bars 14–15', explaining that Bach avoided such stretches on his instrument in the absence of a damper pedal (Example 4.7).[79]



Example 4.7. Left hand of the Prelude in E-flat major (Book II)
(a) as it appears in the main text
(b) variant countenanced by Tovey in the commentary

Reflecting the pedagogical purpose of Tovey's edition, some of his interventions are ostensibly practical in nature. Instead of reproducing Bach's use of *Häkchen* glyphs, Tovey writes the ornament in grace notes (Example 4.8), presumably to make his edition more usable by a non-specialist player. However, this practice was adopted both by Kroll and by Bischoff in their editions. Jones states that Bach's original notation was restored in his 1994 edition, but this appears only in the very earliest manuscript sources, such as the London autograph. In Altnickol's copies,[80] it appears as a grace note, as in the first editions.

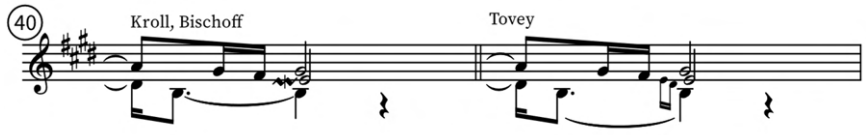


Example 4.8. From the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book II)

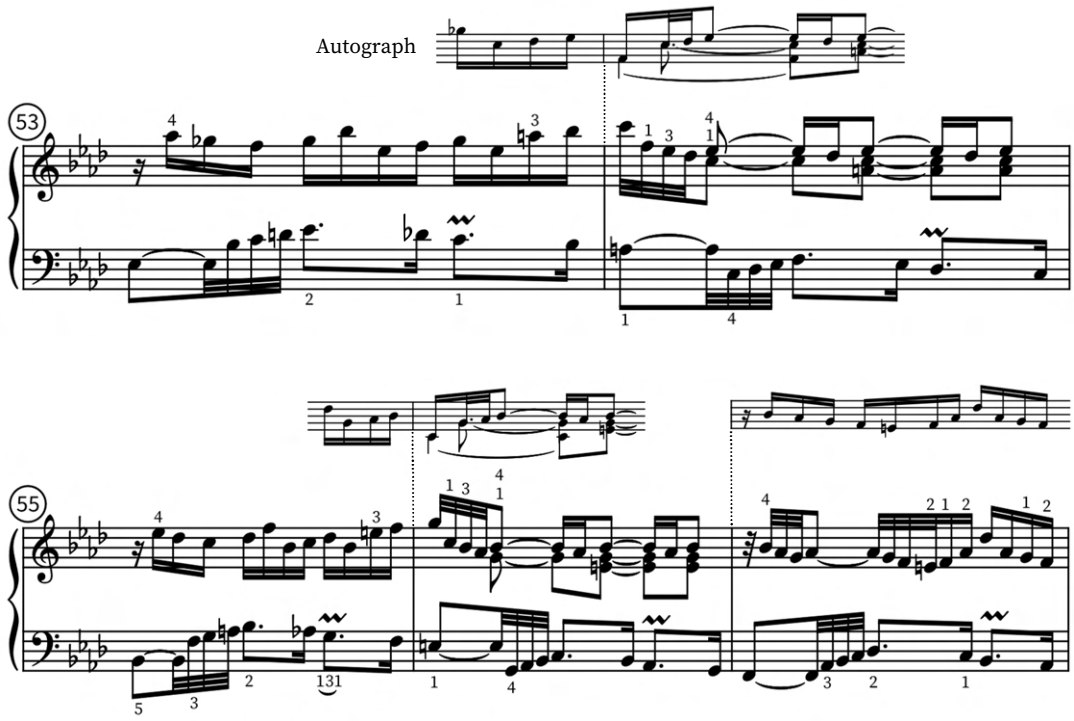
As Altnickol's copies (hereafter referred to as P402 and P430, in keeping with their library classifications at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) were made under the composer's supervision and include corrections in his hand, this was probably viewed in the nineteenth-century tradition of editing as a legitimate orthography. Efforts to clarify typography are also apparent in the Prelude in E major, as shown in Example 4.9. Tovey also notates in small print the prefixes of the long trills in the Prelude in E minor (Book II).

79. Tovey 1924b: 42.

80. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz P402 and P430.



Example 4.9. From the Prelude in E major (Book II)



Example 4.10. From the Prelude in A-flat major (Book II) as it appears in Tovey

Tovey's readings show a high degree of eclecticism. The principle of the *Fassung lezter Hand* is nowhere to be seen in his commentary. Sometimes, as has been seen above, the autographs and chronologically older sources are dismissed by Tovey as representing earlier stages of composition, instead of which he accepts the readings of pupils. Nevertheless, he is not consistent in this regard, and his prose justifies the change of heart only on the basis of style criticism and analysis. In the Prelude in F-sharp minor from Book II, he chooses the readings of the London autograph over those of Altnickol because those 'timidly anticipate the changes of key so as to avoid false relations'.[81] He also adopts

81. Tovey 1924b: 95.

the reading of the London autograph in the Fugue in G minor (Book II) in bar 79, simply commenting that the reading is 'really stronger'.[82]

Perhaps most surprising is Tovey's willingness to countenance combinations of readings. For the Prelude in A-flat major from Book II, he mentions that there are significant variants that merit being printed alongside the later revisions. The main text most commonly accepted today as reflective of Bach's final intentions is from the Altnickol tradition, while the variants presented as ossias come from the London Autograph tradition. Tovey adds:

> [There is no] reason why a selection from them should not be combined with the later readings.[83] It would for instance be quite consistent with the variety-in-symmetry of the whole to read with the autograph in bb. 53–54 and with Altnickol's copies in bb. 55–56, or vice versa, the high C being not more effective as a soprano climax than the low C as a contralto chest note.'[84]

This is shown in Example 4.10. In the Fugue in B-flat major from Book II, Tovey further comments about another reading that he adopted from the London autograph that 'there is no harm in choosing one version for one passage and another for another'.[85] In the Fugue in A major from Book II, he accepted without further comment the later readings of Altnickol as 'evidently authentic final improvements on the British Museum autograph', but he made one exception for 'the delightful bottom notes in bar 16, which presumably had to be sacrificed to the instrument Altnickol had at home. (Throughout Book II, Bach writes for larger instruments than were available to him for Book I).'[86]

As Richard Jones's response suggests (see note 83), Tovey's eclecticism in determining the text among conflicting readings disregards a central principle of some present-day editorial practice: attempting to reconstruct the text in the final state in which the composer left it. Tovey's collage of readings based on style criticism may appear heretical today. Its self-consciously informed aim of presenting an internally coherent text that reflects Bach's idiom and style, rather than the documents he left behind, reflects an important difference in priorities from what is expected of a present-day editor, but shows

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82. Ibid.: 111.

83. This provokes from Richard Jones the remark: 'The editor strongly dissents from this view. This edition [the 1994 Associated Board] rests on the principle that the composer's final readings represent the definitive version that he would want to be played and preserved' (1994b: 185).

84. Tovey 1924b: 118.

85. Ibid.: 158.

86. Ibid.: 137.

an engagement with the affordances of texts that is arguably both scholarly and open-ended.

There are perplexing ambiguities surrounding what kind of reader or user is being addressed by Tovey. On the one hand, ornamentation is simplified and typographically modified to be as comprehensible to a non-specialist as possible; the commentary is often didactic in leading the reader through the contrapuntal devices espoused by the composer and the relevant stylistic traits. For students, there are useful descriptions of Bach's use of *stile francese* in the Fugues in D major (Book I) and A minor (Book II) as well as the Prelude in G minor (Book II). The descriptions of trio sonatas, for example in the Preludes in E major (Book II), or B minor (Book I) are familiar and useful musical points of departure for learners of this repertoire.

On the other hand, Tovey's vocabulary of allusions draws on a vast musical culture that some have observed would have been difficult to follow for the teachers and students preparing Associated Board exams. A few years after its publication, Ernest Walker's assessment of the edition mentions this fact:

> In these two volumes he too flatteringly assumes that all his readers will be able to keep in step with his own learning: the teacher (if not, always, the immature player) may be assisted by being told that the F-sharp minor (Book II) Prelude should be about the same tempo as the thirteenth of the *Goldberg Variations* but quicker than the twenty-fifth, or that the A flat (Book II) Prelude should be 'a shade faster than the Sarabande of the C minor Partita', but comparatively few of the readers of the commentaries on the G minor Fugue or A minor Prelude in the same book will be likely to have at their elbows Weingartner's treatise on the conducting of Beethoven's Symphonies or the fifteenth volume of the Bach Gesellschaft cantata-scores – and, unless they have, they will not fully understand Professor Tovey's points.[87]

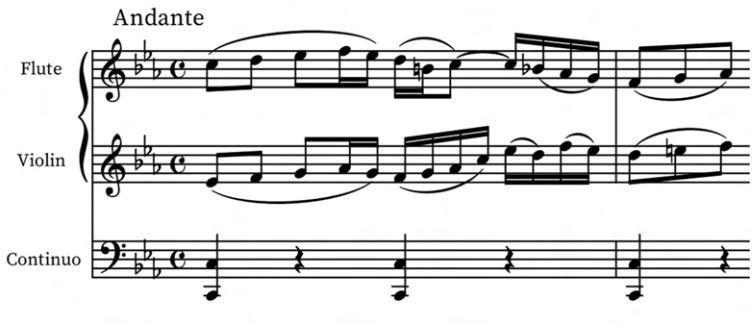
Bach is presented by Tovey in the company of many of his successors. About the Prelude in E major (Book II) he writes that 'the slow movement of Beethoven's F major Violin Sonata gives a good familiar idea of the necessary breadth and flow'[88] when choosing a tempo. About the Fugue in F-sharp minor from Book I, Tovey comments:

> the tempo should be a broad Andante, not quite so slow as the first movement of the B minor Clavier and Violin Sonata. The quaver figure should correspond

87. Walker 1931: 379.

88. Tovey 1924b: 56.

more or less to the flow of semiquavers in the great chorale at the end of the first part of the *Matthew Passion*.'[89]

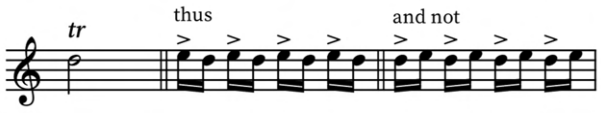


Example 4.11. From Tovey's commentary to the Prelude in C minor (Book I)[90]

There is no shortage of orchestration in his commentaries. About the Prelude in C minor, he writes that 'nobody with an extensive knowledge of Bach's concerted and vocal music would be surprised to find the entire first twenty-four bars of this prelude occurring as an accompaniment to some such theme as this'[91] (shown in Example 4.11).

Ornamentation

The topic of ornamentation is of interest as it both touches editorial practice and exists in a descriptive relationship to performed practices. Tovey's explanation of Bach's ornamentation shows a striking similarity in its guiding principles to an 1891 treatise by Edward Dannreuther, which, in turn, draws upon Franz Kroll's preface to BGA 14. From this, one may derive a few guiding principles that approximate a consensus about realising Bach's ornaments as it developed in the nineteenth century and continued to hold sway well into the twentieth.



Example 4.12. Example as originally printed by Kroll[92]

89. Tovey 1924a: 91.

90. Ibid.: 8.

91. N.B. I believe that this example would be in augmentation to fit with the Prelude, viz. one minim of this example overlaid on one bar of the Prelude.

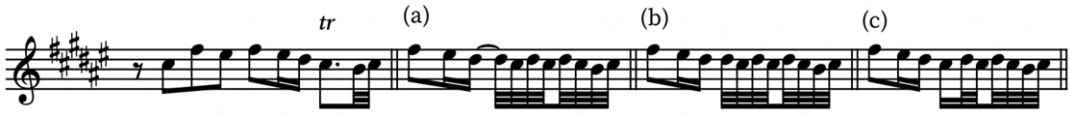
92. BGA 14: xxix. N.B. I have translated the terms from the original German, respectively 'also' and 'und nicht'. A close paraphrase of this example appears in Tovey 1924a: xv.

Dannreuther and Tovey follow Kroll's characterisation of the Bachian trill as running from the upper note to the bottom note. Example 4.12 first appeared in Kroll's preface and was reproduced in Tovey's. The description of the trill running from top to bottom appears in prose in Dannreuther's treatise. All establish that ornaments in Bach belong to the beat of the note to which they apply and are almost always diatonic, i.e. using the degrees of the tonality.

The documents reveal that this consensus admitted considerable flexibility of approach, based on highly subjective appreciations of the context. For example, the rule of beginning trills on the upper note was by then already firmly established. But Kroll, Dannreuther, and Tovey all admitted many exceptions to this rule, exceptions which gave the performer a significant degree of discretion. Tovey states that 'exceptions are produced by the principle that the melodic lines and harmonic essentials must not be blurred – e.g. the subject of Fugue XIII [F-sharp major] in Book II begins too pointedly on the leading-note to bear any treatment tending to disguise that fact.'[93] Furthermore, trills 'should never begin by repeating the preceding note – i.e. they should never cause a stumble in the legato.'[94] With the reference to 'blurring' melodic or harmonic contour, Tovey appears to echo Dannreuther's wording as well as his sense: 'This traditional rule is set aside by Bach only in cases where the shake starts *ex abrupto* after a rest, or *where the melodic outline of the part in which the shake occurs would be blurred*. For example, where the preceding note is one or more degrees higher than the note bearing the shake.'[95] Moreover, the subject from the Fugue in F-sharp major is among the examples that Dannreuther provides in his treatise for this exception.[96] Other cases mentioned by Dannreuther for starting a trill on the principal note are 'when the repetition of a note is thematic' such as in the Prelude in F-sharp major from Book I; 'when the melody skips, and the shake thus forms part of some characteristic interval; as, for instance the interval of the seventh in the theme of [the Fugue in G major from Book I] bars 25 and 26'; 'when the movement of the bass would be weakened if the shake were begun with the accessory' such as in the Fugue in C-sharp minor from Book II at bar 32; and finally, quoting Kroll's

93. Tovey 1924a: xv.
94. Ibid.: xiv.
95. Dannreuther 1891: 161 (emphasis in the original).
96. Ibid.: 165.

preface from BGA 14, 'wherever an appoggiatura from above would be out of place'.[97] Dannreuther extensively quotes Kroll's preface from BGA 14 in his treatise, reprinting exactly Kroll's demonstration of possible realisations for the trill in the subject of the Fugue in F-sharp major from Book I, shown in Example 4.13.



Example 4.13. Example as it appears in the editions of Kroll[98] and Dannreuther[99] (see discussion below of the realisations)

A specimen of the rationale for choosing between the options is found in Kroll's preface:

> In (a) the tie is here totally absurd and contradicts any natural rhythmic feeling, especially if no other voice is covering the halting of the movement. And yet this is the interpretation of the strictest and most recognized theorists! (b) would be acceptable if the D-sharp leading the trill were separated from it; but such a restriction, and it should be a wilful one, should only be enforced every now and then. The most appropriate would certainly be (c) – but even this trill would hardly be regarded as a regular one, but as one that starts from the main note.[100]

This way of treating ornamentation leaves a significant amount of discretion to the performer and suggests a relatively ad hoc application of these principles. Crucially, this open-ended approach places into the performer's hands the choices related to what the piece should sound like. Example 4.14 shows Harold Samuel's realisation of the Applicatio in C major from the *Clavierbüchlein für Wilhelm Friedmann Bach.* This is one of the few pieces for which the composer gives reasonably detailed instructions on the matter of fingering. The Bach Gesellschaft edition is likely to have been familiar to Samuel, but note that he does not reproduce the composer's fingering, featuring the very characteristically baroque 4-3 finger crossings in the first bar. More importantly, Samuel's ornamentation is

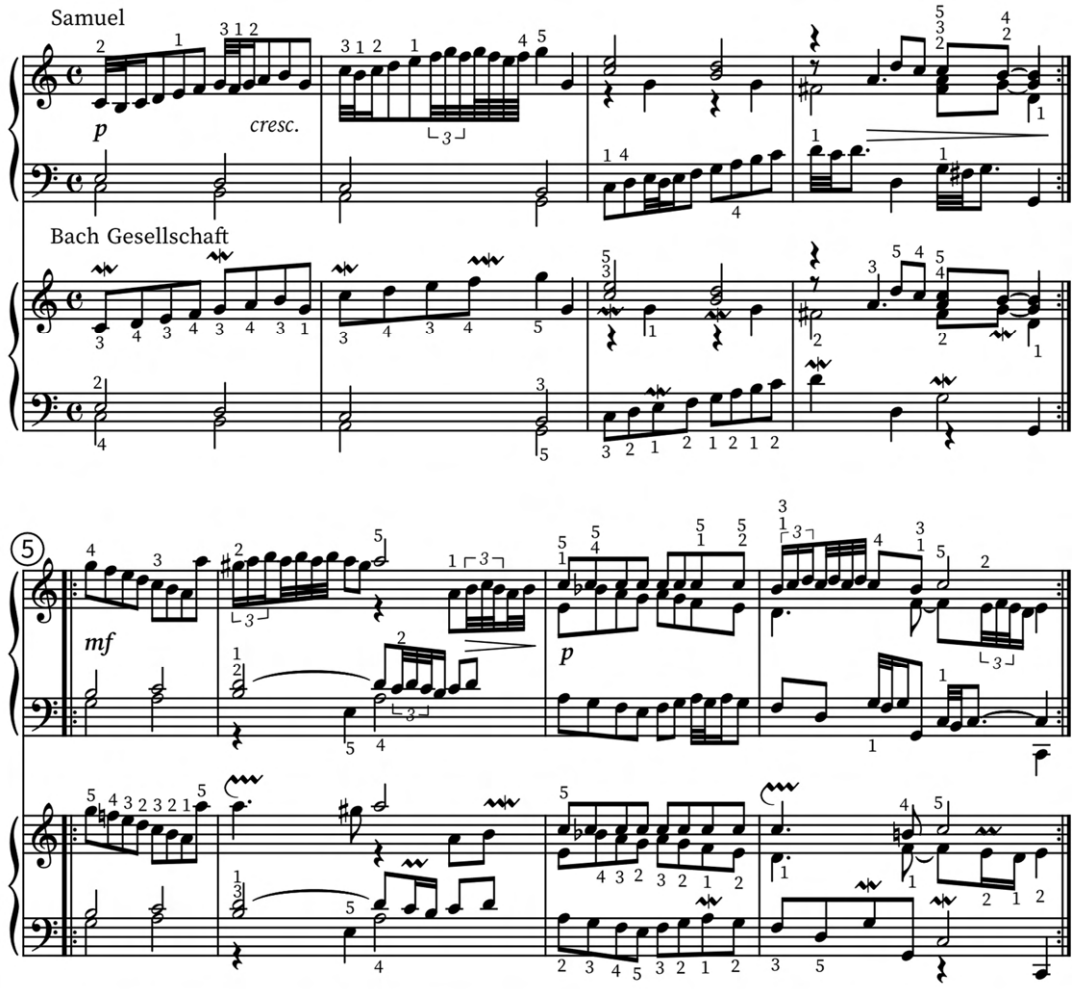
97. Ibid.: 165–66.

98. BGA 14: xxix.

99. Dannreuther 1891: 168.

100. 'Bei (a) ist nun die Bindung geradezu absurd und jedem natürlichen rhythmischen Gefühl widersprechend, zumal wenn nich wenigstens eine andere Stimme die stockende Bewegung verdeckt. Und doch ist dies die Darstellung der strengsten und anerkenntesten Theoretiker! (b) wäre annehmbar, wenn das dem Triller vorangehende dis von demselben getrennt werden sollte; doch dürfte eine solche Beschränkung, oder sie wäre eine durchaus eigensinnige, nur dann und wann sich geltend machen. Am Zweckmässigsten wäre gewiss (c) - aber auch dieser Triller würde schwerlich als regelrecht, sondern als ein vom Haupttone beginnender angesehen werden.' BGA 14: xxix; my translation.

consistent with Dannreuther's broad principles. The ornament in bar 2 is approached from the principal note in order to continue the ascending scale of the melody; the trill in the left hand at bar 6 avoids the repetition of the d′.



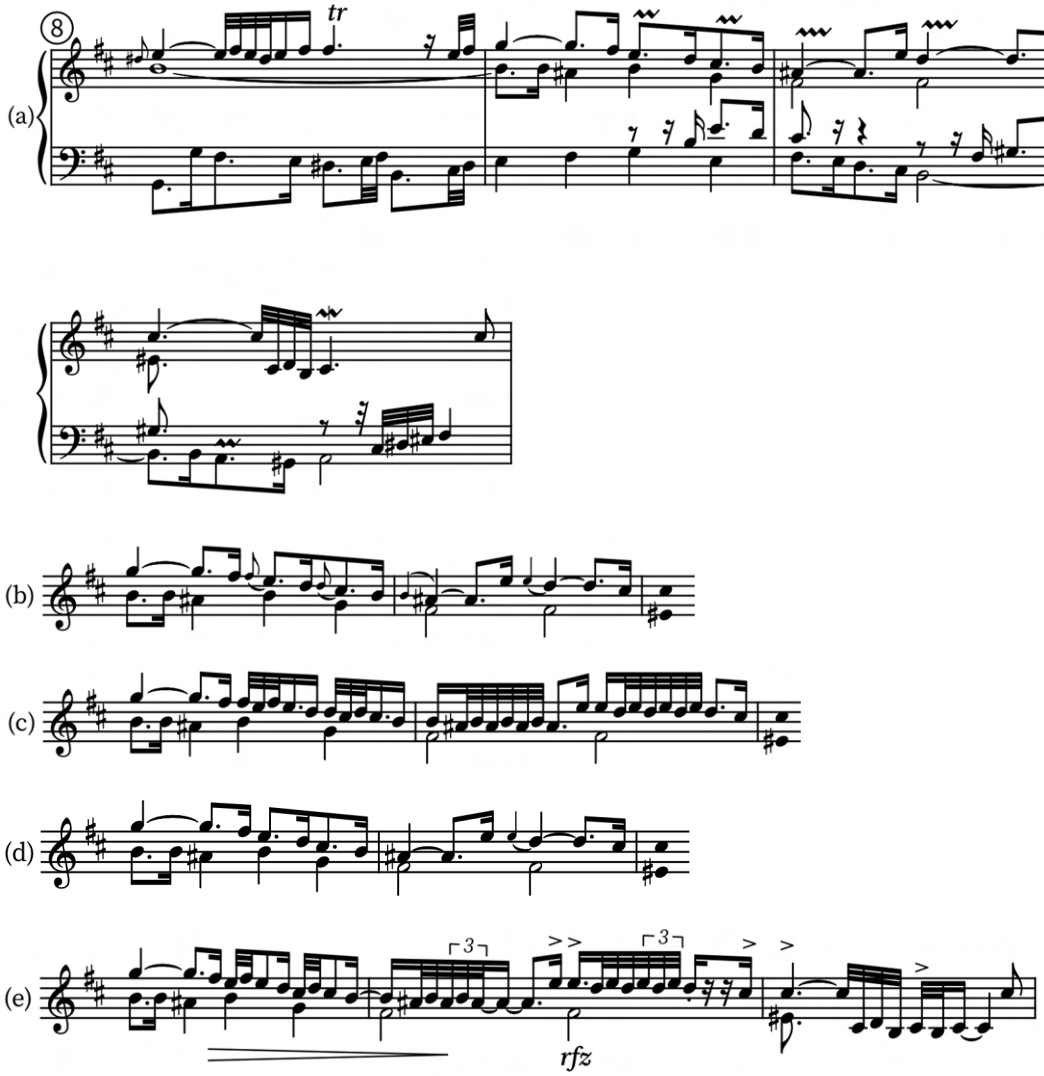
Example 4.14. Applicatio in C major BWV 994, showing Samuel's edition overlaid on that of the Bach Gesellschaft[101]

Such an exercise may be undertaken by oneself for the sake of experiment. Example 4.15 shows a passage in the Partita from the *Clavierübung* Part II. The text presented in (a) is from BGA 3.[102] Realisations (b) through (e) are my own. A conventional and plausible way

101. Samuel 1936: 12 (top) and BGA 36: 237 (bottom). The Bach Gesellschaft edition reproduces more or less exactly the appearance and layout of the autograph from the *Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach,* except for the change from soprano clef to treble clef for the right hand.

102. Bischoff and later editions omit the first trill in bar 9.

of realising the written ornamentation is shown in (c). This requires one to be happy with the descending sequence of appoggiaturas shown in (b) as one's melodic contour. But the chain of repeated notes may weaken the effect of the repetition, and to realise all the ornaments from the top may obscure the conjunct descending melodic contour, according



Example 4.15. From the *Ouverture nach Französischer Art* BWV 831
(a) as it appears in BGA[103]
(b)–(e) Possible realisations by the author of bars 9–10 (discussed in the text)

to Kroll, Dannreuther, and Tovey. Returning to the passage in (a), one may want to mark the way in which bar 10 contains a semi-cadence in the key of B minor, followed by the continuation of the musical argument in the second half of the bar towards the dominant

103. BGA 3: 154.

of F-sharp minor on the downbeat of bar 11. One may want to reserve the excitement of repeated notes until the second half of bar 10 in order to mark abruptly the resumption of the phrase (or the beginning of a new phrase: the subdivision of musical events is incidental to the argument of this demonstration). This may lead one to propose the melodic contour presented in (d). The possible realisation given in (e) compromises somewhat, and gives the downbeat of bar 10 a little 'lean' but ties it to the previous note to preserve the melodic contour (this was listed among possible realisations in Example 4.13: although not an ideal one in that context, the tied upper auxiliary was nevertheless recognised by Kroll and Dannreuther as a legitimate possibility). Otherwise, this ornamentation achieves the goal of giving the passage a particular interpretative shape, based on the very context-dependent permissions of Dannreuther. This is true of any decision on ornamentation, but the choice in this hypothetical scenario is explicitly made with a subjective appreciation of the overall shape of the phrase in mind and works backwards to a realisation rather than the other way around. Dannreuther's treatise and Tovey's remarks suggest that working backwards from a conception of the shape which a passage should espouse to the realisation of the ornamentation was a commonly accepted way to proceed.

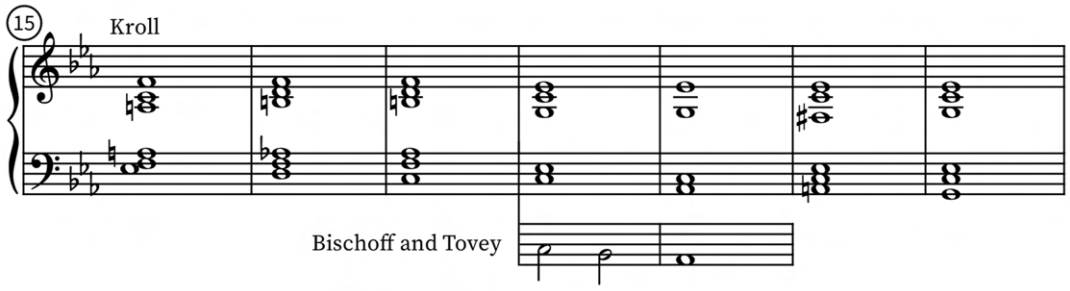
Performing Editions and the Performer as Editor

The introductory paragraph of this chapter stated that its scope was by no means limited to the question 'what editions did they use?'. Turning to connections between editions and the practice of performers, this question forms a useful entry into the matter – as material history, and as a way of documenting the spread of ideas and concepts. Moreover, the question of performers' relationship with scores is intriguing because, in some cases, one sees tantalising analogies between their approach and those of editors in the early twentieth century. Tovey's injunction to make analytically informed decisions appears to be reflected in the practice of performers such as Evlyn Howard-Jones and Harold Samuel.

Professional performers, particularly those such as Harold Samuel or Harriet Cohen who were known for their Bach performances, would in all probability have possessed one of the two main scholarly editions, i.e. Kroll or Bischoff, from which they could have gained familiarity with a variety of readings. Their recorded performances can give indications of the editions they used, as can written accounts, interviews, and programme notes. It is

unlikely that well-known Bach pianists such as Harold Samuel or Evlyn Howard-Jones, whose careers were already advanced by the mid-1920s, used Tovey's edition in the course of their own work. However, Howard-Jones was an examiner for the Associated Board from 1908 onwards, as was Samuel from 1919,[104] and thus would have more than likely developed a close familiarity with the edition that their examinees were instructed to use.

A concert programme for Samuel's 'Bach Week' in 1921 (see Chapter 3) discloses the possibility that Samuel used the Bischoff edition. In the first recital, which took place on 30 May 1921, Samuel performed the French Suite in E major BWV 817.[105] Several possibilities exist for the ordering of the final four movements after the Gavotte. Both versions printed by the Bach Gesellschaft (edited by Wilhelm Rust[106] and Ernst Naumann[107] in 1865 and 1897 respectively) place the Minuet between the Bourrée and Gigue, Czerny omits the Minuet entirely, while Bischoff, following the tradition of Kirnberger's copy,[108] places the Minuet between the Gavotte and the Polonaise. Samuel's programme listing shows that he performed the last schema. This is strong evidence for Samuel's use of the Bischoff edition. It was furthermore speculated by Percy Scholes that he used the Bischoff edition.[109]



Example 4.16. Prelude in C minor (Book I) reduced to its constituent harmonies

104. Local Centre Examinations. (Great Britain and Ireland) 1894(-1932). British Library: General Reference Collection Ac.5169.12.

105. A.L. Bacharach Collection. Mus.317.c.5. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

106. BGA 13.2: 123.

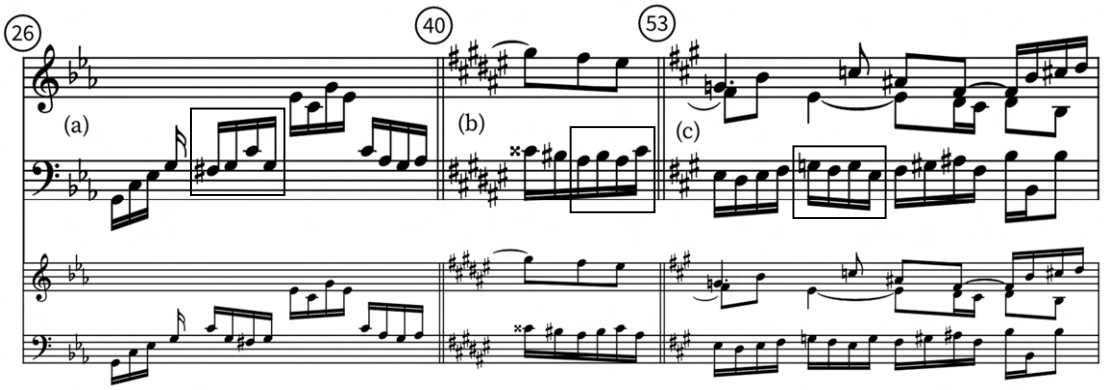
107. BGA 45.1: 123.

108. See the assessment of sources in BGA 45.1: xxiv–xxv and the discussion of movement order in ibid.: xxxviii.

109. 'Samuel, I fancy, has been in the habit of using the Steingräber edition of Bach's works, edited by Bischoff, but the "48", down to their smallest demisemiquavers, has been so long and so securely lodged in his memory that I daresay he hardly remembers any edition' (*The Observer*, 19 October 1924: 10).

In her autobiography, Harriet Cohen revealingly stated her preference for 'an edition of the music which has neither expression marks nor marks of tempo – an edition such as that in which Bach's works were first published.'[110] This would make her more likely to have used the Bach Gesellschaft edition, especially considering that in her partial *Well-Tempered Clavier* recording, she appears to prefer readings published in Kroll 1866 where it diverges from other editions such as Tovey 1924 or Bischoff 1883.[111] One such instance is shown in Example 4.16.

Certain caveats are in order if one is to comb through recordings, gathering idiosyncratic or telltale readings that may indicate the use by the performer one edition or another: wrong notes abound in these unedited straight takes, often committed hastily to wax under trying conditions. Certain slips of the finger or learned wrong notes inevitably appear, and are not necessarily indicative of a deliberate decision. Example 4.17 shows two representative instances from early recordings in addition to one of my own that occurred spontaneously in my day-to-day practice during the writing of this chapter.



Example 4.17. 'Innocent' idiosyncratic readings
(a) from the Prelude in C minor (WTC I), Edwin Fischer
(b) from the Prelude in C-sharp major (WTC I), Edwin Fischer
(c) from the Fugue in F-sharp minor (WTC II), Pierre Riley
The accepted version of the text[112] is given in small stave below

I would argue that a distinction must be made between lapses of this nature and simple instances of wrong or split notes: they do not significantly disrupt the harmony; they

110. Cohen 1936: 81.

111. For example, bar 18 of the Prelude in C minor BWV 847, where Cohen does not include the B-flat passing note in the bass line, as advocated by Bischoff and Tovey.

112. See 'Note on the Text', page 8.

blend into the semiquaver patterning; with this in mind, they would be unlikely to attract the attention of even discerning listeners unless such a listener were armed with a score. They seem to attest to a certain skill at 'filling in the gaps' and, whether deliberate or not, a way of 'thinking on one's feet' idiomatically. In this respect and others, they may be indicative of the sorts of liberties routinely taken by performers in Bach's day and thereafter, when texts were not meant to be slavishly adhered to in a form of 'Urtext performance', but rather were prompts to creative endeavour extending not simply to expressive elements but also to the very pitch material making up the music. This would have been justified at the time by such historical precedents in pre-1900 musical practices. For that reason, they cannot be accounted for in the same way as divergent 'readings' per se that might show a performer as editor.

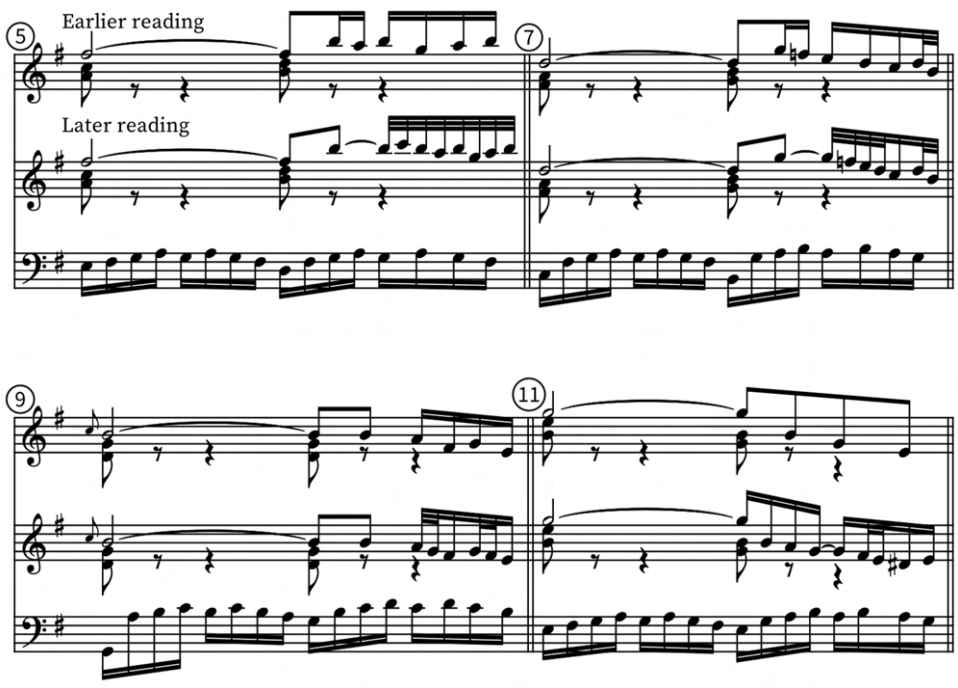
The question of what editions these pianists used can be rethought in terms of the performer's agency. As was seen earlier in this chapter under 'Assessing Editions: Then and Now', it was common among the editors of nineteenth-century scholarly editions to list possible readings, to make a choice about which to adopt in the main text, and to list other plausible variants. In the case of Bischoff's edition, the presentation of these variants was especially accessible to the pianist, as these were printed in footnotes rather than as a separate critical commentary. We know also that an eclectic approach, combining readings according to one's taste and preference, was countenanced by Tovey in his edition.

Although recordings are given detailed attention *as* recordings in Chapter 7, Howard-Jones's account of the Prelude in E minor (Book I) BWV 855 may be examined in terms of the editorial choices he makes among competing readings. Howard-Jones plays a version that reflects the earlier stages of development of the Prelude.[113] It is in the *ante correcturam* state of the autograph[114] and in a number of copies made before Bach's final stage of revisions in the 1740s.[115] The early version was mistakenly understood by Forkel to be the final version, guided as he was by the late eighteenth century's taste, writing that 'he soon returned to his natural better taste, and altered the movement to the form in which it is engraved.'[116] Forkel is presumably referring to the edition that he prepared for

113. Jones 1994a: 148.
114. BGA 14: 222.
115. Jones 1994a: 11.
116. Forkel (1802) 1920: 145.

Hoffmeister & Kühnel. Bischoff and Tovey print the early version the main text, relegating the later revision to an ossia, while Kroll prints the later reading in the main text and includes the earlier one as an alternative in the separate critical commentary. The variants are shown in Example 4.18.

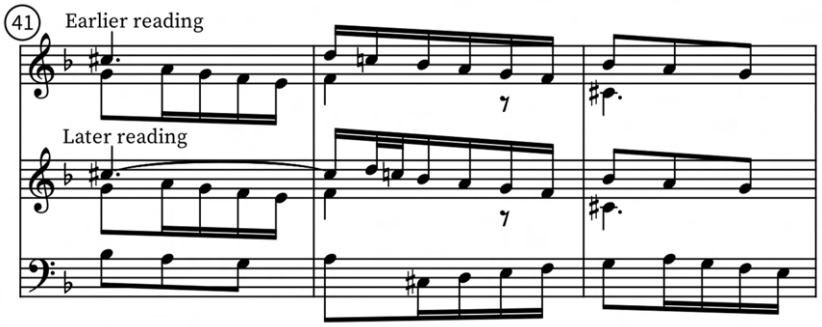
It is not vitally important to know here whether Howard-Jones used the Bischoff edition, read the variant in Kroll's critical commentary, or found it elsewhere, but the questions of why Howard-Jones chose to play it this way and what effect in performance he was aiming to achieve are of crucial interest to understanding his choice between divergent readings – a choice which shows, in this case, significant analogies with those made by an editor. Other traits of Howard-Jones's playing that are further explored in Chapter 7 – for example, the relatively limited use of tempo variation, and clearer articulation – or the descriptions of him in Chapter 5 as being sober and restrained, contextualise this choice of textual reading as contributing to a 'streamlined' Bach aesthetic.



Example 4.18. Earlier and later versions of the Prelude in E minor (Book I)

The same choice of earlier (simpler) readings and later (more ornate) readings is also present to a lesser extent in bar 42 of the Fugue in F major (Book I; see Example 4.19), in which Howard-Jones also chose the earlier reading. This variant is given the same treatment in Bischoff and Kroll, while Tovey prints exclusively the earlier one, remarking

that 'the correction seems fairly authentic, but is unnecessarily scrupulous'[117] (in keeping with the modus operandi seen above).



Example 4.19. Earlier and later versions of the Fugue in F major (Book I)

Tovey speculates that the simpler earlier readings indicate that Bach would have performed them faster, while the more ornate later readings require a more leisurely tempo for a satisfactory performance.[118] Howard-Jones's performances of these two movements attest to the competing requirements of clarity and simplicity in performance. It should be added that his tempo in the Fugue in F major is comparatively brisk and that he may have been averse to the sudden irruption of demisemiquavers, which would be the only such event in the whole fugue. It appears, in this case, that the standard for adjudicating options is much more guided by overall effect than by any source-driven concept of authenticity, even in situations such as Howard-Jones's performances, which do not necessarily conform to a stereotyped idea of 'Romantic freedom'.

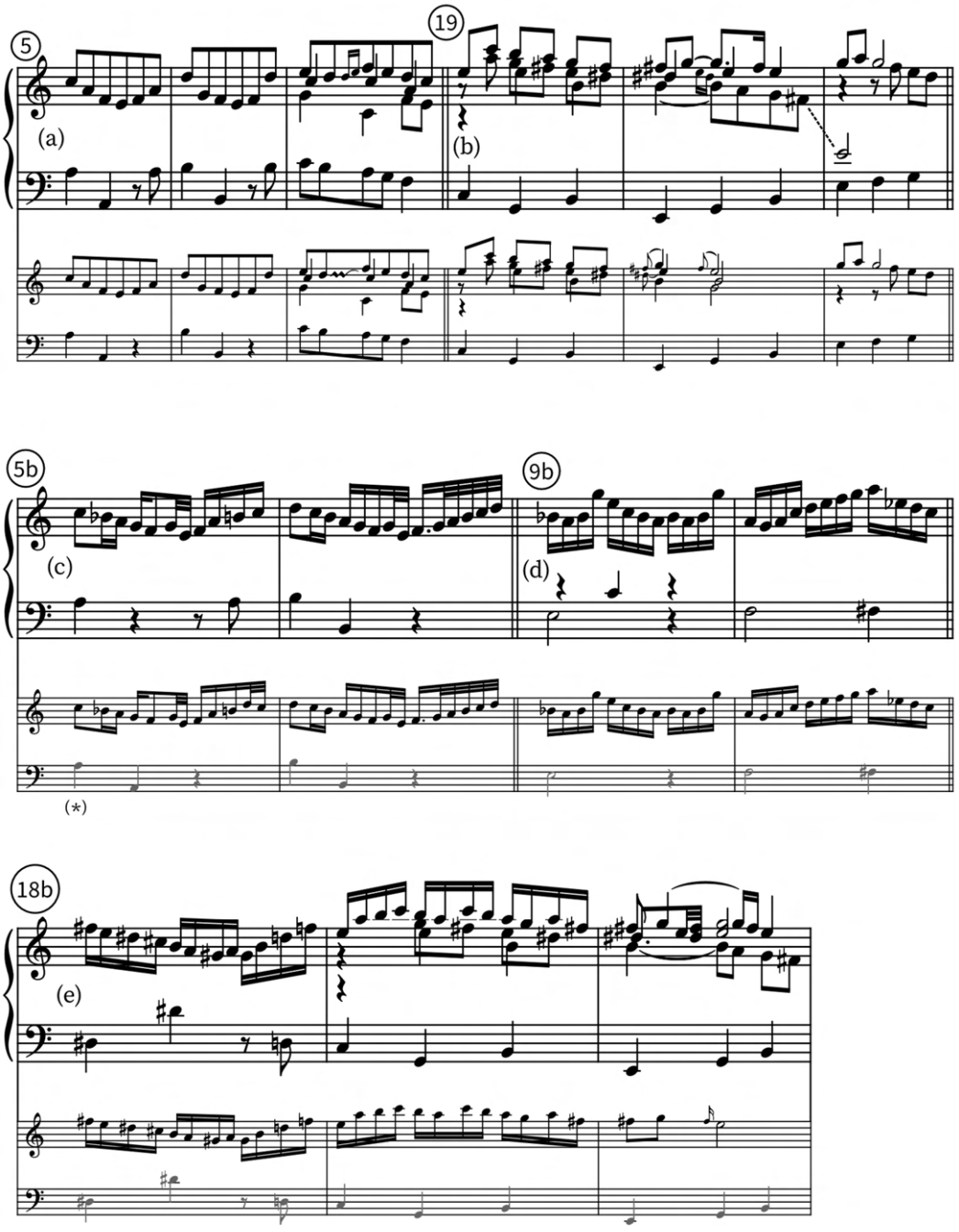
Harold Samuel presents an even more surprising case. In his 1926 recording of the English Suite in A minor BWV 807, he performs textual variants that could not possibly be spontaneous technical slip-ups of the type mentioned above. Moreover, I have found no edition or primary source containing these readings. Samuel's interventions nevertheless allude to other parts of the movement he is performing – most often rhythm and motivic material. These are transcribed in Example 4.20. In (a) Samuel adds quavers in the left hand, prefiguring the use of this rhythm in the second part of the Sarabande. In (b) and (e) he inserts the opening melodic shape into the inner voices. In (c) he streamlines the ascent from a′ to d″ in much the same way Howard-Jones appears to have done in

117. Tovey 1924a: 71.

118. Ibid.: 65.

Examples 4.18–19. In (d) he adds the c′ on the second beat, perhaps to remind one of the characteristic rhythmic pattern of the Sarabande.

As seen in Chapter 4, Samuel attracted the notice of critics due to his exceptional ability to perform sizeable programmes of Bach's keyboard works from memory. Possibly,



Example 4.20. Sarabande from the English Suite in A minor
Large print: Samuel's performance
Small print: accepted version of the text
* N.B. BGA prints only the treble clef for the written repeat

some of this process of memorising involved a sympathetic taking of ownership of the text, a process of taking on the mantle of the composer. While it is true that the notion of memorising a work for repeated performances seems remote from the preoccupations of eighteenth-century musicians, the sometimes semi-improvisatory way in which the twentieth-century performer might recompose a given musical passage from memory, based on a close personal experience of it (as in Example 4.20), may indirectly approach or constitute a modern-day reinvention of the less rigidly prescriptive relationship between notation and performance that characterised eighteenth-century music-making.

This phenomenon is not likely to be unique to Britain: the formalist outlook of Tovey is, after all, heavily indebted to intellectual traditions imported from Germany and shows significant analogies with Schenker's approach to Bach editing. The after-effects of this in performance may be more conspicuous in the case of performers such as Samuel and Howard-Jones. Gieseking was famously restrictive about what should and should not be done with the text.[119] And even though Fischer was remarkably free about performing Bach in a pianistic manner with octave doublings, he was scrupulous about observing the text and is highly likely to have used scholarly editions as a starting point.[120]

Editions therefore are not only objects that passively enter into the possession of performers: they reflect and project certain values about how texts – especially canonical texts – are to be dealt with. There is a world of amateur music-making that lies beyond the scope of this dissertation which would doubtless yield very different insights. However, among highly trained Bach performers such as Tovey, Samuel, Howard-Jones, and Cohen, the examination of editorial practice shows how the prevailing eclecticism of many editions, eschewing concepts such as the *Fassung letzter Hand* that are sometimes been taken for granted in past generations, interact with a similarly eclectic approach to performing the text.

119. See Gieseking (1941) 1975.

120. See Riley 2016.

5. Bach at the Birth of Gramophone Culture

Between the two World Wars, the United Kingdom was at the centre of a transformation that propelled the gramophone into the musical mainstream. Although the two largest British firms – The Gramophone Company and Columbia – began as subsidiaries of American parent companies, they soon gained a dominant position in the production and dissemination of records, leading a world-wide expansion in recorded music. This is especially true of the classical repertoire. It was also in Britain during the interwar period that this new form of musical enjoyment first attracted sustained interest in specifically musical circles, ranging from professionalised record criticism to amateur clubs for sociable listening and discussion. In this chapter I introduce key concepts for approaching this range of discourses and cultural phenomena. I then retrace how Bach's works were received in this emergent 'gramophonic culture'. Finally, by examining record criticism, I raise issues of taste and performance style that inform the portfolio of performance analyses in Chapters 6 and 7.

Bach recordings of the 1920s have received comparatively little attention in the scholarly literature, largely overshadowed by the much more fruitful decades that followed. In many ways, however, the 1920s laid the foundations for these later developments.

Introducing Gramophonic Culture

The evolution of listening practices, in the context of what may be termed the reception of recordings, was heavily influenced by the successive technical improvements experienced by the gramophone record. By 1920, the recording industry was already nearing maturity in commercial as in artistic terms: during the previous decades, technical improvements and shrewd advertising strategies had lent credibility to the idea that sound recordings were an appropriate way to disseminate and enjoy serious music.[1] The acoustical recording process remained rudimentary. It relied on the physical force of sound waves, gathered into an acoustical horn, to engrave a groove onto a rotating block of wax. This

1. Symes 2004a: 39; LeMahieu 1982: 381; Maisonneuve 2006.

continued to impose significant limitations on the fidelity of the final product. Frequency response was limited to approximately 168–2000 Hz,[2] cutting off bass notes at the lower end and sibilants and overtones at the upper end. Nick Morgan enumerates the musical consequences of this:

> The sounds captured best by the acoustical horn were loud, sustained and piercing – sopranos and tenors, cornets and whistlers – whereas soft or low sounds, and strings and pianos, came across poorly, as did large choirs or orchestras.[3]

Recording artists therefore went to considerable lengths to obtain a satisfactory sound. Written accounts of recording sessions abound,[4] describing ensembles cramped in a small space, crowding around the recording horn, altering their performance style, and often even altering the orchestration so that the performance would register on the wax in a more or less balanced manner. A frequent substitution made for this reason was the use of brass instruments instead of lower strings, or the specially modified Stroh violins.[5] The piano remained notoriously difficult to capture convincingly, and acoustic recordings had furthermore to compete with the comparably refined 'reproducing pianos' of Welte and Ampico, for which commercial operations remained active well into the 1920s.[6]

The advent of electrical recording was therefore transformative for musical as well as technological reasons. This process, developed by Western-Electric in 1925 and soon licensed to His Master's Voice and Columbia, relied on the improved components that had been devised for use in telephony and broadcasting: a microphone transformed sound waves into electrical signals, which could be strengthened using vacuum-tube amplifiers, and transmitted to an electric cutting lathe that would cut a groove on the wax master. This change considerably widened the frequency response of recordings and improved their signal-to-noise ratio. Because of this, organs, orchestras, and large choirs could be recorded more realistically without significant adjustments to balance or performance approach in the studio. Because of amplification, quiet instruments such as the clavichord or guitar could finally register on wax, as could the previously inaudible details of a room's

2. Gelatt (1955) 1977: 204.
3. Morgan 2010: 141.
4. Gelatt (1955) 1977: 180; Moore 1962: 59–60; Busoni 1938: 287; Chapple (1928) 1973; Boult 1973.
5. Day 2000: 15.
6. See Philip 1998: 77–79; Leech-Wilkinson 2009b: Ch. 3.4.

acoustical features. Listeners could thereby experience a more realistic sense of space through electrical recordings.

The ability to transmit the signal remotely through wires introduced the possibility of on-location recording in a wider range of venues. The earliest experimental attempts in 1920[7] used the General Post Office's telephone lines, as did some initial commercially released examples.[8] In 1927, His Master's Voice began transporting the bulky recording lathes in a van – dubbed the 'Mobile Recording Unit' – rather than relying on telephone lines.[9] Although dedicated studios remained the preferred location for making commercially distributed records – the advantages of controlled conditions remain to this day – a number of advertisements bear witness to the novelty of recordings that could suddenly evoke a sense of place. Columbia released two records that were taken at the 1926 Handel Festival in the Crystal Palace,[10] and later boasted about a musical theatre record that had been recorded in the Drury Lane Theatre where the show was playing.[11] His Master's Voice, meanwhile, appeared to concentrate efforts on the sacred repertoire, notably releasing live performances from the Three Choirs' Festival in 1927. To publicise the possibility of recording on-location, advertisements depicted the van in front of York Minster and named a list of cathedrals and college chapels where recordings had – or were set to – take place.[12]

The nature of the early record industry therefore requires at least a preamble summarising these technical developments: although electroplating, valve amplifiers, and signal-to-noise ratios may seem separate from issues of reception, taste, and performance style, the changing affordances of the gramophone record show that in such a case, technical and cultural were in fact closely interconnected in 1920s. The research question 'what repertoire was recorded when' requires the gramophone's evolving set of affordances as a medium to be accounted for.

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7. An Armistice Day service at Westminster Abbey (Gelatt [1955] 1977: 219).
8. Beardsley & Leech-Wilkinson 2009; see also Summers 2006: 3.
9. *The Gramophone*, June 1927: x.
10. *The Gramophone*, August 1926: xii.
11. *The Gramophone*, July 1927: vii.
12. *The Gramophone*, June 1927: ix–x.

A growing body of scholarly and popular literature has set out to account for the undoubtedly far-reaching import of recording in broader musical culture. Earlier factual accounts, histories of the industry, and discographic catalogues have given way to critical reflections not just on listening practices and reception, but on ontological pressures that these new media exerted on music and possibly even on performance norms. Evan Eisenberg gives an evocative summary of how recorded sound changed cultural attitudes to music:

> Before the phonograph any playing of music (with the single exception of the musician playing for himself) was perforce a social event. People had to get together … and to simplify matters, they got together at regular intervals. Such practicalities had always supported music's link with the ritual. Now the *Symphony of a Thousand* could play to an audience of one. Now a man could hear Nocturnes at breakfast, Vespers at noon, and the Easter Oratorio at Chanukah … [and] make love right through the *St Matthew Passion*.[13]

According to LeMahieu, 'No longer was the concert the sole means of communication between a musician and his public. The phonograph relieved the isolation of the home; the listener could choose when and where to hear his [favourite] music.'[14] Less tethered to time or place, the recorded musical performance was a material object that came to attract many of the trappings of bibliophile culture: the aim of collecting records, the presentation of albums in curated bindings, the careful styling of the cabinetry sold to enthusiasts to store and display their collections, etc.[15] Indeed, applying the term 'library' to a collection of recordings has a long history and far-reaching consequences. Behaviours surrounding the gramophone gave the notion of canon and repertory a material embodiment in the form of an object that could be acquired and collected.[16]

However, as will be seen later in this chapter, some of these changes had not yet become solidified in interwar Britain. Sophie Maisonneuve notes that the record industry in Britain was 'particularly advanced, dynamic, and inventive'.[17] Appendix 3, detailing milestones in the development of the Bach discography lends support to this assessment: virtually all the pioneering recording projects of the 1920s were made in the United Kingdom, many of them by British artists. The cause of cultural applications for

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13. Eisenberg (1987) 2005: 23–24. See also Maisonneuve 2002: 49.
14. LeMahieu 1982: 372.
15. Maisonneuve 2001: 101–02.
16. Ibid.: 93.
17. Maisonneuve 2002: 44.

technological innovations was furthermore taken up in Britain by influential personalities that saw in the record and the radio potential for cultural improvement. The founding principles of the B.B.C. constitute a consequential legacy of that era. A lesser known example was the use of recordings as pedagogical tools. Journalist and historian Percy Scholes compiled the *Columbia History through Eye and Ear* to supplement the written text with sounding musical examples.

Further exploration of Britain's gramophonic culture in the interwar period is therefore helped by remembering that technical qualities of the records themselves continued to influence ostensibly cultural factors; that recordings involve certain cultural uses, some of which are familiar to the present-day, some less; and that Britain had a central position in both commercial and artistic terms for much of this period.

A Valuable Press Source

Another element bearing witness to the evolution of the gramophone's place in British musical culture is the comparative wealth of publications specifically devoted to the enjoyment, discussion, and criticism of music on record. Many first-hand accounts from professional critics and amateurs appeared in the early issues of *The Gramophone*. Founded in 1923, it was 'the first magazine in any language to treat recorded music as seriously as the great British literary reviews examined the written word'.[18] There had been predecessors such as *Sound Wave* or the *Talking Machine and Wireless Trade News,* but they had concerned themselves primarily with technical matters, while *The Gramophone*'s distinctive trait was its musically discerning editorial stance.[19]

Its founder, Compton Mackenzie, was an energetic advocate of recording more serious music and, generally, of elevating the cultural tone of record catalogues. What exactly is meant by this problematic and open-ended categorisation can be clarified by examining one of the major undertakings of his early years as editor of *The Gramophone*. His advocacy was directed both at recording executives and at listeners themselves. In 1924, the magazine invited like-minded readers to collectively support this elusive 'serious' class of music. Advance subscriptions of two shillings sixpence would be paid to the National Gramophonic Society, which would then record a range of canonical

18. LeMahieu 1982: 373.

19. Ibid.: 375.

masterpieces as well as works by living composers in order to remedy the perceived imbalances of commercial record catalogues.[20] By the end of its second year of operation, the National Gramophonic Society's catalogue featured the Sinfonia from Bach's Cantata *Ich steh mit einem Fuß im Grabe* BWV 156. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were represented by records of Orlando Gibbons, Purcell, and Corelli. Attending also to living composers as well as those of the recent past, the Society released works by Ravel, Debussy, Bax, Delius, Goossens, and Schoenberg.[21]

The magazine has attracted the interest of sociologists and media historians in large part because it fostered the creation of social communities dedicated to the record as well as to musical enjoyment.[22] Some of these interactions, Sophie Maisonneuve observes, were mediated by the magazine: the reader correspondence section gave enthusiasts a forum in which to exchange views, solicit advice, and discuss the technical as well as musical aspects of this pastime.[23] While it may intuitively seem less sociable than other consecrated rituals of the musical experience such as the live concert or the domestic music-making so prevalent in the bourgeois home of the nineteenth century, it fostered a relatively close-knit community of like-minded enthusiasts. The magazine was a useful guide to the neophyte, as the acoustical means of reproduction remained an exercise in tinkering and at-home experimentation: readers reported back on seemingly endless combinations involving spring-driven mechanisms, needles made from steel and a wide variety of natural fibres, and horns of various shapes and sizes. Despite the emphasis on musical matters, the technical merits of records were scrutinised almost as assiduously. In addition to regular articles, special issues appeared to compare and adjudicate the features of different playback equipment.[24] Its readership was sociologically diverse, although 'scholastic' professions such as teaching were over-represented significantly.[25] Enough readers were of modest enough means that starting in 1924, a section was devoted

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20. *The Gramophone*, March 1927: 405; Day 2000: 68.
21. *The Gramophone*, October 1926: 196.
22. Maisonneuve 2001; Maisonneuve 2002; LeMahieu 1982; LeMahieu 1988.
23. Maisonneuve 2002: 48.
24. For example, a special editorial is devoted to a 'joust' of playback equipment. This holds no surprises for the present-day reader of the magazine's successors, but it is worth noting that this joust happened in public in Steinway Hall, once again placing the record still, at least partially, within the paradigmatic sphere of live public performance (*The Gramophone*, July 1924: 34–36).
25. LeMahieu 1982: 381.

to inexpensive recordings.[26] An element of hobbyism certainly pervaded the tone of the magazine.

Bach in the Gramophone Clubs

Starting in the first issue, April 1923, *The Gramophone* invited and published reports from record clubs, groups of enthusiasts who would band together to play and discuss records, often in private homes, but increasingly in hired rooms in restaurants, libraries, or other community spaces. Maisonneuve illustrates the rapid growth of the phenomenon by noting that that nine existed in 1918, fifteen in 1920, and nearly fifty by 1922.[27] This phenomenon involved social practices that are more reminiscent of traditional music-making: meeting in person or listening together as an audience. In these reports one reads of 'recitals', of 'performances', and of the composition of programmes for the evening's entertainment. A survey in 1936 about the phenomenon even noted that 'one or two correspondents maintain that their groups are more than gramophone societies – they are, in fact, miniature music clubs at which members play or sing during one half of the evening.'[28] This element of continuity between 'gramophonic' listening and the social rituals of live music – whether domestic or public – was characteristic of the Gramophone Society movement.[29] As witnesses to the early cultural uses of the gramophone record, the reports from clubs disclose that the deep ontological divide between recorded and live music that is assumed to exist today was not yet solidly entrenched.[30]

As the practice gained a following, this section of the magazine expanded steadily until for reasons of space, victims of their own success, the reports of gramophone clubs ceased appearing in full after the January 1927 issue.[31] The notices printed during those years provide tantalising insights into exactly what records were played, and by whom, and how they were inserted into wider patterns of gramophonic culture.

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26. Maisonneuve 2002: 49.
27. Ibid.: 45.
28. *The Gramophone*, July 1936: 85.
29. N.B. The term 'gramophone society', most often used in print sources from the 1920s to designate these gatherings of record enthusiasts, should not be confused with the subscriber-supported business model, alluded to above, that would later flourish in the 1930s.
30. Certainly not yet in the Gouldian sense that Eisenberg evokes ([1987] 2005: 23–24).
31. Thereafter, only the names and contact information of these gramophone societies were listed, with brief dispatches appearing only occasionally.

The gramophone society phenomenon had a diverse following, encompassing amateurs as well as connoisseurs. It is crucial to remember that this decentralised constellation of clubs had a wide variety of aims and catered to an equally vast spectrum of tastes. Couched in terms valuing pedagogy and self-betterment (along with no small amount of what today would be called 'techno-optimism'), one correspondent gives a description of 'a well-conducted gramophone society' as a setting 'where one can hear, compare, and (on occasion) argue about all classes of music'.[32] There is evidence that some of these new clubs aspired to the values and codes of highbrow culture, although they were by no means the majority. Such attempts were not always accepted by the traditional gatekeepers of high-brow culture. Traces of this subsist in the concert criticism of Robin Legge in the *Daily Telegraph,* who scorned the amateurish nature of these clubs.[33]

An exhaustive survey of their listening choices would require too great a digression within the present chapter, but a brief summary suffices to describe the eclecticism that was at the heart of the gramophone society phenomenon, encompassing variety between different societies and within their listening choices too. The 'programmes' of these 'gramophonic performances' were initially dominated by short, single-side movements. In keeping with the preponderance of vocal records in the early catalogues, opera celebrities such as Nellie Melba, Enrico Caruso, Fyodor Chaliapin, and Amelita Galli-Curci featured regularly. This was supplemented by instrumental virtuosos and military bands.[34] One is struck by the flexibility of listening habits, in which the canonical and the popular are not clearly demarcated. Within Caruso's immensely popular catalogue, his renditions of arias and ensembles from the French and Italian canon were played just as often as his records of 'O Sole Mio' and 'The Lost Chord'. Galli-Curci's Cherubino arias, sung in Italian, share the attention of members with her unashamedly exoticist but undoubtedly popular 'Chanson Indoue' from Rimsky-Korsakov's *Sadko*. This might not be enough evidence to advance any observations on the 'middlebrow' aspects of this particular use of recordings, but the possibility (or the risk) of cultural non-sequiturs of this nature, combining high culture and popular culture, was certainly a feature of the gramophone society movement. Other gatherings had a

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32. *The Gramophone,* June 1923: 33.

33. Quoted in *The Gramophone,* June 1923: 33.

34. The Coldstream Guards' Band appeared on almost every one of the advertisements announcing the month's new releases by His Master's Voice.

forthrightly intellectual orientation, in keeping with the ideals of MacKenzie and the National Gramophonic Society. A listening club existed at the University of Cambridge, where one 'programme' included, in a single evening, Brahms's *Variations on a Theme of Paganini,* movements from *Petrushka,* the first of the 'Razumovsky' Quartets (an N.G.S. record), Ravel's Septet, Richard Strauss's *Don Juan,* Beethoven's fourth Piano Concerto, Haydn's 'Oxford' Symphony, Franck's Violin Sonata, and the grail scene from *Parsifal.*[35]

Bach's works are mentioned from the first instalment. Unsurprisingly, their appearances often coincide with pedagogical or culturally aspirational aims. The first occurs in the context of a broad survey of music history:

> Mr Howarth had conceived his programme on original lines – no less than a bird's-eye view, on records, of the development of music ... from the time of Bach to Mendelssohn... Opening with the two giants of the polyphonic period, Bach and Handel, the beginnings of symphonic writing were illustrated; Bach being represented by a movement from the famous 'Brandenburg' Suite, and also showing his complete mastery of technique, the wonderful fugue for one violin, from the Sonata in G minor, played by Isolde Menges.[36]

It is worth noting the emphasis on compositional technique that warrants the inclusion of Bach and Handel in this historical survey. It is curious that the Brandenburg concerto – it can only have been Eugene Goossens's 1922 recording of the Third in G major BWV 1048 – was reported as a 'Suite'. It is likely that such a slip-up of nomenclature reflects the non-specialist nature of the author, as the His Master's Voice catalogue and the record label both refer to the work by its usual title. The listening continued with a Bach 'Prelude in G' played by Irene Scharrer,[37] then works by Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, and Mendelssohn. Mentions of Bach's works in these 'phonographic recitals' of the gramophone societies appear regularly, though not particularly often, in their accounts. These are more than mere listings, but less than criticism per se, as they are fragmentary remnants of listening practices.

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35. *The Gramophone,* February 1926: 434–5.

36. *The Gramophone,* June 1923: 33. Menges, a celebrated Bach performer in her own right (she made the first complete recording of the Chaconne from the Partita in D minor BWV 1004), would later record the Sonata for violin and keyboard in E major BWV 1016 with Harold Samuel in 1928.

37. There is no trace of any such recording in the catalogues of His Master's Voice, with whom Scharrer was under contract. They may have listened to the Scarlatti Sonata in G major K14 (H.M.V D543) or the Prelude from BWV 848 in C-sharp (H.M.V. D576), both of which were available at the time.

The near-duopoly of His Master's Voice and Columbia accounts for almost all of the Bach recordings played at the gramophone societies. New releases took pride of place at their meetings, although some recordings continued to be played sporadically for many years after their release, such as like Eugene Goossens' of the third Brandenburg Concerto with the Royal Albert Hall Orchestra. The list is also dominated by orchestral selections, perhaps due to the distortion which the acoustical process imposed on instruments such as the piano or harpsichord. Arguably the most successful of the orchestral records was Columbia's of the Suite in B minor for flute and strings BWV 1067, recorded in 1924 and mentioned five times in reports from gramophone societies in the two years following its release.

Most often, Bach's music would appear in the form of excerpts which were inserted into an eclectic programme and typically paired with Handel. Francis Mead discussed in detail the challenges of composing programmes for 'gramophone recitals':

> The making of a satisfactory programme is, I believe, an art which only comes after much thought and practice... [Such programmes] may be divided into two classes. Those intended to demonstrate the possibilities of one artist or more in a selection of pieces, or those exhibiting what I will call a definite musical balance.[38]

He goes on to consider constraints of length and maintaining interest either through inner variety or with contrasts between items, thereby implying a level of continuity between record listening and the concert format. One of his 'theme programmes' brought Bach together with Handel and Scarlatti, composers whose recorded catalogue was also steadily growing throughout the 1920s.

Supplementing the sporadic appearances of Bach's music in regular 'gramophonic recitals', two gramophone societies from the London area organised dedicated Bach festivals. The South-East London Gramophone Society was the first to propose this in 1924. Contrary to the norm that would prevail, they played a harpsichord record: the fugue from the Toccata in E minor BWV 914, performed by Violet Gordon-Woodhouse. The rest of the programme involved Goossens's Brandenburg concerto recording, Isolde Menges playing the solo violin Partita in G minor, and the Kreisler-Zimbalist double violin concerto. In contrast, the South London Gramophone Society's Bach-themed meeting devoted an unusual amount of attention to keyboard recordings, including Harold Samuel's of the

38. *The Gramophone*, July 1924: 49.

Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue, along with the two Bourrées from the English Suite in A minor (used as a 'filler' selection on the fourth side of the album), Irene Scharrer's performance of the C-sharp major Prelude and Fugue from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* Book I, and the Allemande from the Partita in B-flat major, recorded on the harpsichord by Violet Gordon-Woodhouse.[39] These events were often proposed by motivated enthusiasts whose names occasionally reappeared in conjunction with other gramophone performances of Bach. In this short period, a fleeting figure, on whom no extended description dwelt, was that of a Mr Yeoman, who was the driving force behind the South-East London Gramophone Society's Bach event in early 1924. Two years later, the Cardiff and District Gramophone Society thanked him by name for bringing them some Bach records from London.[40] This is an eloquent example of how *The Gramophone* fostered cooperation among enthusiasts.

The reports of these enthusiasts demonstrate that, within the eclecticism of the gramophone societies' repertoire choices, Bach seemed to interest a minority, but a dedicated and culturally empowered minority, seeing how he embodied the ideals of serious music in settings as diverse as the National Gramophonic Society's catalogue or the themed historical surveys of the listening clubs (a fuller listing is given in Appendix 4). Furthermore, the most commonly heard recordings of Bach's keyboard works in the latter setting were those made by Samuel, Gordon-Woodhouse, and Scharrer, reflecting their pre-eminence, as far as this repertoire is concerned, in the record catalogues of the time.

Catalogues and Advertisements

The Gramophone discloses much less, yet at the same time much more, than a comprehensive survey of record catalogues and archives. It is possible to know with greater certainty what was available, listened to, and written about at the time. Agents might offer to import foreign records on request, but the magazine tended not to discuss records unless they were commercially available in the United Kingdom. The overwhelming majority of Bach recordings were made by His Master's Voice and Columbia. Most of their records were recorded in Britain, but they also printed for the

39. There is also mention of a 'Prelude in G major' by Mark Hambourg on an H.M.V. record, but no contemporaneous catalogues list any such recording.

40. *The Gramophone*, March 1926: 478.

U.K. market a selection of masters from affiliates and partners on the continent and in the United States. An example of this would be the enduringly popular recording of the Double Violin Concerto featuring Fritz Kreisler and Efram Zimbalist, recorded in the United States for Victor, but printed in Britain by His Master's Voice. Similarly, labels such as Polydor and Actuelle operated in Britain to print Deutsche Grammophon and Pathé masters, respectively.

In addition to record listings, advertisements provide subtle clues through iconography, branding, and claims about cultural value or technical achievement.

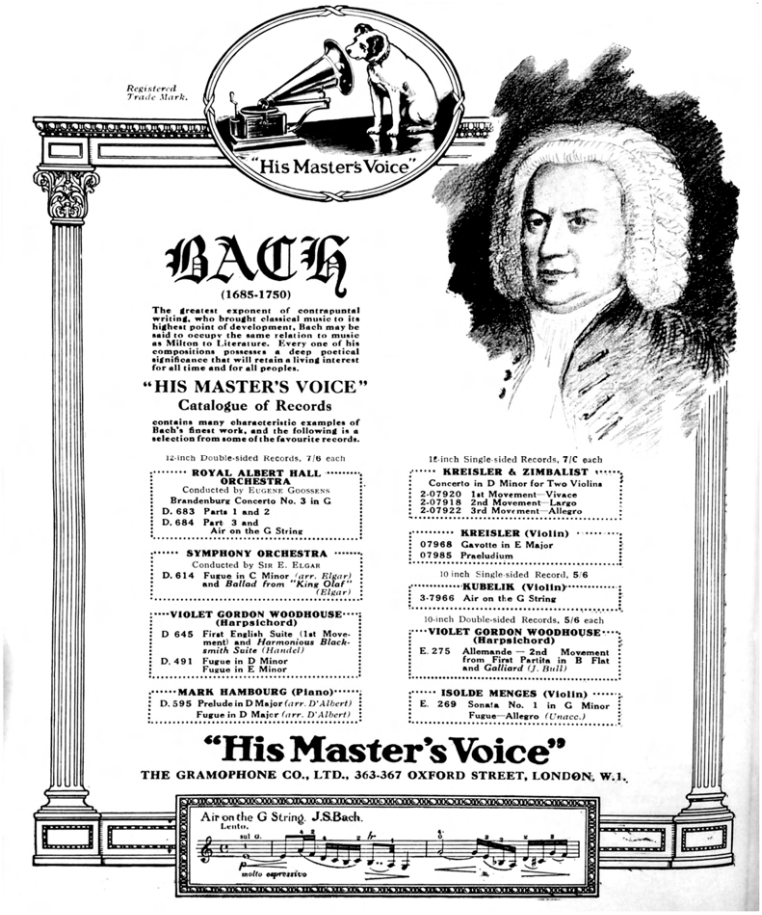

Figure 5.1. His Master's Voice Advertisement[41]

Printed materials for record companies employed varied strategies for publicising records. In 1923 and 1924, His Master's Voice issued a number of full-page advertisements, each presenting a single composer. These would typically include a portrait in half-tone print and thematically appropriate iconographic devices. Such advertisements would

41. *The Gramophone*, June 1923: iii.

sometimes publicise the completion of a larger-scale project. One was devoted to the tricentenary of William Byrd,[42] another to the release of an abridged version of 'The Mastersingers of Nurnberg' (sung in English, conducted by Albert Coates),[43] while another celebrated the completion of Beethoven's 'Choral' Symphony by The Symphony Orchestra and Albert Coates.[44] The advertisement in Figure 5.1 does not announce a jubilee or a multi-record album, but in it H.M.V. exhibited their already sizeable Bach catalogue, including both original works and transcriptions. A virtuoso transcription by Eugen d'Albert performed by Mark Hambourg shares the page with Violet Gordon-Woodhouse's harpsichord records of excerpts from the Partita in B-flat major and the Toccata in E minor. This demonstrates already the pluralism of the recording industry's treatment of Bach – from virtuoso transcriptions to historically informed records. Pride of place is given to the concerto repertoire, including some of H.M.V.'s most popular Bach records, as has been seen through the reports of the gramophone societies: the Kreisler-Zimbalist Double Violin Concerto and the third Brandenburg Concerto conducted by Eugene Goossens. In addition to the familiar portrait of the wigged 'Kantor', the visual vocabulary of the page conveys a certain ambiguity: between the classicism and balance of the Corinthian columns and the suggestion of archaism in the fraktur lettering for the composer's name. Finally, the opening line of the well-known 'Air on a G string' is quoted in a cartouche below. Interestingly, it is the only work to appear twice in the catalogue.

A very different item publicising Columbia's output (Figure 5.2) shows a strategy typical of the company. Here, although two popular records appear in the bottom left and right corners without pricing information, the full-page spread celebrates milestones in recording ambitious repertoire. Columbia's Bach catalogue remained much smaller than that of His Master's Voice, but the company invested heavily in multi-record prestige projects that appeared in bound albums. The heading 'Master Artists – Master Music – Master Records' proclaims the aim of a truly canonical catalogue. The first instalment of Harriet Cohen's *Well-Tempered Clavier* recording is juxtaposed here with one of *Pelléas et Mélisande* (commanding, like Cohen's Bach offering, the princely sum of 39 shillings, almost £2), the Lener Quartet's account of the Brahms Clarinet Quintet with Charles

42. *The Gramophone*, August 1923: vii.
43. *The Gramophone*, January 1924: ix.
44. *The Gramophone*, June 1924: xv.

Draper (32s. 6d.), and Fanny Davies' Schumann Concerto (18s.). Columbia's emphasis on repertoire may be seen as well in promotional material for its Beethoven Symphony set, completed in 1927 by several different conductors and orchestras; the emphasis was not on the ensemble or the conductor, but on the completion of the nine symphonies and the employment of the new electrical recording.

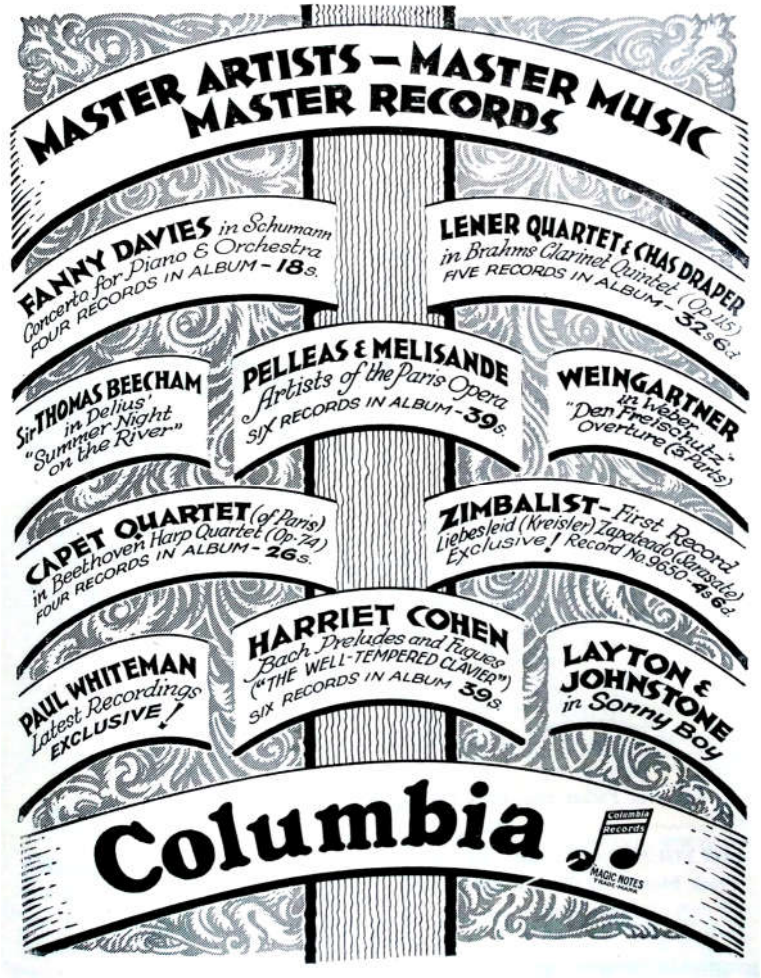

Figure 5.2. Columbia Records Advertisement[45]

Another strategy espoused by companies, and through which Bach records were presented to the public, is by the promotion of an individual performer. As has been seen in Chapter 3, Harold Samuel attracted significant notice in the 1920s for his marathon recitals of Bach's keyboard works. It is probable that this is why, when developing its catalogue of Bach recordings, His Master's Voice recorded Samuel on several occasions.

45. *The Gramophone*, March 1929: xvi.

These early recordings were promoted in a concert programme for the 1924 'Bach Week' (Figure 5.3). It extols Samuel's renown as a Bach pianist and insists on H.M.V.'s exclusive relationship with the performer. Reflecting the period of rapid expansion in the record industry, it suggests that more are to be expected. Samuel featured in His Master's Voice catalogues throughout the 1920s as a performer with which the company was associated.

Figure 5.3. His Master's Voice Advertisement[46]

46. Concert Programme. Percy Scholes Fonds. Box 6, 'Bach', subfolder 11.1. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

Bach, then, is presented to the public in several different stances that are consistent with the norms of the 1920s. He appears in a gesture of summation, showing the full catalogue of his recorded works with the company; he is featured among other culturally valued specimens in the sort of pantheon-building that one sees in the Columbia advertisement; or, a single performer comes to be associated with his music. Furthermore, it is indicative of how the 1920s were a period of transition, in which technological, performer-centric, repertoire-centric, or pantheon-building influences were felt in varying proportions.

By 1925, His Master's Voice already listed 33 entries under 'Bach' in their catalogue, while in Columbia's, there were 15. The fact that some works were already being re-recorded furthermore indicates the existence of a wide enough audience to warrant it. Those included popular classics such as the 'Air on a G string' and the Bach-Gounod 'Ave Maria', but also works from the concerto repertoire, such as the Double Violin Concerto, recorded in 1915 by Fritz Kreisler and Efram Zimbalist for His Master's Voice, and later by Josef Joachim's grand-nieces Jelly d'Aránayi and Adila Fochari for Columbia. This is partly attributable to the competition between H.M.V. and Columbia, and to the renewal of catalogues as the old acoustically made recordings began to obsolesce. However, the choice of work on which to compete is revealing of trends in the public's affections, as is the fact that they would compete on the music of Bach at all.

With the advent of electrical recording, more attention was devoted to repertoires such as the organ works and the sacred works. Recording projects by both foreign and English organists began to occupy proportionally more space in the reviews and catalogues. His Master's Voice lost no time putting its mobile recording unit to work: early on-location sessions featured organists such as Marcel Dupré and Albert Schweitzer on the Queen's Hall organ,[47] W.G. Alcock in Salisbury Cathedral,[48] Herbert Walton in Glasgow Cathedral,[49] Edward Bairstow in York Minster,[50] and Stanley Marchant in St Paul's Cathedral.[51] Soon after, the first (near-) complete recorded account of a large-scale sacred

47. *The Gramophone*, April 1928: 460; January 1929: 360.
48. *The Gramophone*, April 1928: 460.
49. *The Gramophone*, October 1927: 191.
50. *The Gramophone*, November 1928: 240.
51. *The Gramophone*, October 1929: 202.

work, the Mass in B minor BWV 232, was made in 1929 in Kingsway Hall, under the direction of Albert Coates.

The first article to appraise the accumulation of recorded Bachiana appeared in the June 1929 issue. Although the correspondent still described the available selection of records as limited and dominated by transcriptions, he reports on a growing catalogue of sacred music records, most notably three from the *St Matthew Passion*: Elisabeth Schumann singing 'Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben' (H.M.V. D 1410), 'Erbarme dich' by Maartje Offers (H.M.V. DB 907), and the closing chorus sung by the Westminster Abbey Special Choir (H.M.V. D 1084 – it is noted that the recording was made on location), all sung in English.[52] Harold Samuel's records were commended and deemed worthy of attention, but by 1929, the new sensation was an album by Harriet Cohen – like Irene Scharrer, a former student of Tobias Matthay – of the first nine preludes and fugues from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* Book I.

After this, one begins to see more familiar names and performances. It is not much later that the Bach Society was constituted by His Master's Voice, and with it came more systematic and wide-reaching recording projects. The 250th anniversary of the composer's birth, celebrated throughout the world in 1935,[53] spurred a significant increase in the number of recordings devoted to his works. The 1930s may be described as the first golden age of Bach recordings. An emblematic symptom of this growing interest, in which commercial enterprises and individual consumers both took part, was of course the 'Bach Society' series. This later wave of subscription societies usually concentrated on the works of a single composer. Differing from the utopian creation of Compton Mackenzie, the National Gramophonic Society, they produced records in much larger numbers.[54] This quickly grew into a major cultural phenomenon that radically expanded the scope and ambition of recorded music in only a few short years.[55] A profusion of highly regarded *complete* recordings was made through the efforts of the H.M.V. Bach Society at a time when the technical limitations of the 78rpm shellac record still made short excerpts the

52. The titles of the movements suggest that all of these performances used the translation from the Elgar/Atkins Novello Edition.

53. Such celebrations were documented as far afield as far as Japan (*The Musical Times,* October 1935: 933).

54. Perhaps the most well-known and enduringly popular of these recordings was Artur Schnabel's account of the Beethoven's thirty-two Piano Sonatas.

55. Day 2000: 67–73; Grownow & Saunio 1998: 61–62.

norm. These included the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (Edwin Fischer, 1933–35), the *Goldberg Variations* (Wanda Landowska, 1933), the Sonatas and Partitas for solo violin (Yehudi Menuhin, 1934–36) and the Brandenburg Concertos (Adolf Busch Chamber Players, 1935–1936). Many of these performances are well-remembered today: they exerted long-lasting influence on performance norms and tastes by having been the only recorded performances available for many years, sometimes decades. As a consequence, these recordings have been the topic of sustained academic interest.[56]

But the contributions of performers, critics, and enthusiastic amateurs such as Compton Mackenzie and his readers should not be underestimated. Sources such as Elste 2000 and Day 2000 rightly identify the 1930s as a decade when all aspects of the Bach repertoire were recorded with unprecedented assiduity, but the developments of the 1920s, involving the energies of a keen enthusiasts, were a time of valuable pioneering. Some achievements of this time have been overlooked even in authoritative histories of Bach performance in the twentieth century. For example, Elste lists Landowska's 1935 recording of the Partita in B-flat major BWV 825 as the first complete account of the work on record,[57] whereas this had already been achieved by Harold Samuel and Blanche Selva in 1926 and 1929 respectively. While the development of the Bach discography was much more localised in Britain and therefore did not attract much overseas attention, this was a time when the demand for and possibilities of Bach recording were tested and proven.

Criticism: Expressive v. Restrained

Just as in the case of concert criticism, one must account for the different *sorts* of criticism and critics. In the generalist press, many unsigned notices remained brief and most often limited to a vague gesture of approval, sometimes not even listing details of the repertoire.[58] There is undoubtedly a scarcity of materials explicitly dealing deeply with issues of performance for Bach's keyboard works. Secondly, one must treat cautiously the

56. Fabian 2003; Brookshire 2016.

57. Elste 2000: 366

58. The following is a fairly representative example: '[from H.M.V.] it is pleasure to find this month two instrumental records, each in its way perfect. There is Bach wonderfully played by Mr Harold Samuel (D1245, 6s. 6d.) and there is Weber's charming "Invitation to the Waltz" charmingly played by Cortot (DA855 6s. 6d.)' (*The Nation and Athenaeum*, 9 July 1927: 492).

fact that reviewers attended to records both as objects of technological achievement and as vehicles for performances.[59]

Moreover, record criticism cannot be read as value-neutral testimony, considering how inseparable it is from judgement; not all judgements are overt or innocent. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson discusses this with reference to a much larger sample of reviews from *The Gramophone*:

> It is striking how much of this imagery around 'mannerism' reproduces the themes of structural prejudices, most obviously – given the many associations of mannerism with affectation and display – misogyny and homophobia. For it is specifically the feminizing features perceived in unwelcome forms of performance expressivity that critics seem to find so threatening; and this in turn helps to explain the unpleasantness of some of the criticism we have been seeing.[60]

A prominent target in this section and in the following chapters is Harriet Cohen, whose more expressively involved Bach approach was characterised in such terms.[61]

Turning again to *The Gramophone* and to a select few specialist publications, we notice that reviews do provide a critical vocabulary and a set of criteria with which to approach the recordings: it is instructive to revisit the controversies raised by some of these recordings. As one can seldom do with the concert criticism of the 1920s, long before live recording became commonplace, one may actually test claims made in the review against the record, or, conversely, clarify the reviewer's use of language by reference to the sounding artefact. In the following paragraphs I quote extensively from responses to early Bach recordings and discussions of the performers that were associated with this repertoire. This exercise guides and clarifies the aims of the performance analyses in the following chapters on this body of documents.

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59. Maisonneuve 2002: 59–60; Morgan 2013: 273–4.

60. Leech-Wilkinson 2021: 107.

61. Although beyond the scope of this chapter, the strategies women at the piano employed both in interpretative terms and in their self-presentation are an undoubtedly complex and important topic. For example, there are interesting contrasts between Cohen and Myra Hess in their respective recordings, but also in the markedly differing visual lexicon of the portraits depicting them. See https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp05173/harriet-cohen and https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp05402/dame-myra-hess (both accessed 5 May 2021). Although the issues raised by this brief juxtaposition could fuel another research project entirely, it is pithily illustrative of the pressures women face in public life, and shows two contrasting strategies for existing in this public sphere as a woman.

A powerful framing device for many of these debates involved the ever-recurring and overlapping dichotomies of expressive versus restrained, subjective versus objective, and scholarly versus idiosyncratic. Considering that these were so prevalent in nineteenth-century debates about Bach performance, it is hardly surprising that these issues continued to appear, often with renewed urgency, in the discourses of twentieth.[62] A reviewer in 1929 complained that

> Whenever performances of Bach are mentioned words like style, line, power, architecture, spirit of his time, etc., etc., are sure to crop up. All this is right, of course. But the monotony with which these descriptions are repeated seems to mirror a monotony of performing Bach which at times comes dangerously near to staleness.[63]

To fashion compromises between extremes was axiomatically approved of by all parties *in principle*, but the practical realisation of these ideals provoked wide-ranging debates. Critics intervened to approve of or condemn certain performance strategies that appeared in recordings, ascribing differing values to parameters such as tempo flexibility, variation in dynamics, rhythm, and tone colour. Whereas terms related to clarity and expressiveness were near-universally used to praise a Bach performance, these reviews supply indications of how observers connected concrete events from performances to the rather more abstracted values promoted by these descriptions. Crucially, these assessments all operate on certain underlying assumptions about Bach's music, and when reading this body of criticism, reflecting on the nature of the writer's unstated assumptions is as revealing as the text itself.

Bach recordings were involved in a broader reconfiguration of norms governing expressivity and style. Record criticism in the 1920s is fascinating because of the wide divergence of opinions that appear. Compton Mackenzie mused in one of his monthly editorials that 'there is a tendency nowadays to pound Bach out like the multiplication table. His dignity is not impaired by allowing a little romantic emotion to colour the interpretation'.[64] One may venture a few plausible explanations about the performances to

62. See Carruthers 1992.

63. *The Gramophone*, March 1929: 445. The reviewer, signed only as 'C.J.', is as yet unidentified (Nicholas Morgan, e-mail to the author, 20 April 2021).

64. *The Gramophone*, November 1933: 210–11.

which Mackenzie was reacting. An earlier review by W. R. Anderson[65] of Harriet Cohen's recording of the Keyboard Concerto in D minor BWV 1052 describes a more restrained, rhythmic approach – one which may have prompted the 'pounding out multiplication tables' remark – and sets out an argument in support of this view:

> If one remembers two things about the concerto of Bach's day, the enjoyment of this fine example will be increased: the construction is such that the work's growth is, perhaps, less obvious than that of a modern concerto; and the orchestration does not offer the coloured joys of, say, the Tchaikovsky B-flat minor Piano Concerto. Other days, other ways; Bach builds upon rhythmic ideas – quite small themes, which he chose because they could be developed, after the remarkable way of the man, into tightly built, trim movements, every bar of which brims with vitality.[66]

Anderson added that, the work's original orchestration being for strings and harpsichord, 'we must not expect very highly-coloured pianistics'.[67] 'Discus', the record reviewer of *The Musical Times*,[68] added that the recording was 'crisp and rhythmical'.[69] In other words, the 'restrained' view Bach appeals to compositional and structural features of the work as a guide to performance. This does not call explicitly for a programme of historical reconstruction, nor does it invoke authenticity as a motivating factor, but this attitude alludes to putatively more restrained, less colourful sound features that should be associated with a performance of an eighteenth-century work. This suggests that a variety of motivations can inform a change in performance aesthetic. Finally, the connection is made between rhythm and a sense of vitality.

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65. Purportedly one of Britain's first record critics, and among the earliest to have musical training, Anderson was an organist, author, and contributor to *The Music Student*, *The Observer*, and *The Gramophone*. Although a pioneer in the genre of the record review, Anderson had ambivalent feelings about the gramophone, seeing it as a poor substitute for live music, and even by extension, performances as poor substitutes for 'personal communion with a score' (Morgan 2013: 69–70). See also *The Gramophone*, March 1979: 1555.

66. *The Gramophone*, April 1925: 438. Here Anderson signed 'K.K.' pseudonymously (See *The Gramophone*, December 1929: 292).

67. Ibid.

68. Although there is a possibility that not all of the reviews published under this pseudonym were authored by a single person, the clearest evidence available suggests that 'Discus' was Harvey Grace. One of Discus's columns (*The Musical Times*, September 1930: 813–14), refers in the first person to an earlier article signed by Grace (*The Gramophone*, November 1929: 231–2). See Morgan 2013: 60. It should be added that 'Discus' was the trade name of a manufacturer of organ blowers, which, considering Grace was an organist himself, would have been a topical allusion, bringing together the organ and the gramophone (Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, correspondence with the author, 8 February 2021).

69. *The Musical Times*, May 1925: 429.

This expressive–restrained axis, as a guiding dichotomy, frames responses to the recordings of prominent Bach pianists. Harold Samuel is often named as a representative of this view of Bach: his fugal playing is 'clearness itself';[70] he is 'utterly free from smudginess' in the Fantasia in C minor.[71] Rutland Boughton[72] praises his performance of the English Suite in A minor by stating that 'at first his performances may to some people seem unsympathetic and hard. I do not mean hard in tone, but hard in texture'. He adds:

> The fact is that the sentimental tendencies of modern music, with its demoralizing influence upon performers, who too often set out to interpret instead of to reveal, become most obvious in the music of Bach… Harold Samuel gives a more real Bach, in which the original creation is built up stone by stone, as in the Prelude [of BWV 807] (never halting, even for that seductive second subject); and when he comes to the Jig he plays it, not for a drawing-room audience, but for dancers on the village green.[73]

This reform in expressivity – the 'restrained' Bach of Samuel and Howard-Jones – is an odd orphan in the broad historical perspective: it is couched in terms that reject both modernity's 'demoralising influence' and the old bourgeois 'drawing-room' audience. The strong value judgement and structuralist bias in the approval of 'revealing rather than interpreting' is by no means anodyne either. Implicitly, Samuel is praised not for his flexibility, but for the limitations he imposes on it: his recording of the Preludes and Fugues in C major and C minor from Book I of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* were recognised by Peter Latham in *The Gramophone* as 'a good example of what liberties a pianist with

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70. *The Musical Times*, February 1924: 153.

71. *The Gramophone*, July 1924: 59. Alec Robertson, writing under the pseudonym N.P. or 'Newman Passage' (Nicholas Morgan, e-mail to the author, 20 April 2021). This was later revealed in *The Gramophone*, February 1935: 370. Robertson was an organist and critic, and lecturer in music appreciation who saw recording's potential to edify and educate lay listeners. Although still firmly rooted in score reading, his outlook on recording technology was more optimistic than many others such as Anderson (Morgan 2013: 71).

72. Boughton was a composer and critic who was known in his time for a cycle of five operas based on the Arthurian legend, and another, *The Immortal Hour*, based on Celtic folklore. He presented these at a festival held regularly in Glastonbury from 1914 to 1927 (Hurd 2001; Hurd [1983] 1998). He joined the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1926, and caused controversy the following year for insisting on a modern-dress staging of his opera *Bethlehem*, which set the nativity story in a miner's cottage and portrayed Herod as a 'hated capitalist protected by the army and police' (Meddick et al. 2020: 13–14). Boughton's proletarian sympathies, along with his interest in folklore and broader themes of prelapsarian rurality perhaps help situate the allusion to Bach 'for the village green' and his implied disdain for the 'drawing-room audience' and its bourgeois connotations.

73. *The Sackbut*, June 1930: 308. This is from the same article as his comment on Cohen: see note 91 below.

rhythm can take if he has the root of the matter in him and knows what he is doing'.[74] In keeping with the absence of strong consensus in this time, primarily with the expressive–restrained framework motivating responses, the praise is not always shared, as Ursula Greville and Maurice Jacobson opined in *The Sackbut*:[75] 'the relentless march of Mr Samuel's playing here [the Prelude in C major] does not appeal to me. But he is well served by this method in the other Prelude and the two Fugues, which are magnificently played'.[76] Approving or disapproving, a picture emerges of a musical culture in which these narrower fluctuations in tempo and ever more parsimonious use of expressive devices were subject to evolving and even polemical judgements. It must be added that strictness in one parameter did not necessarily entail strictness in all others: Samuel is equally praised for his 'beautiful phrasing and pedalling'[77] in his recording of the Partita in B-flat BWV 825.

Looking to other Bach pianists, there is sometimes less material to examine. Irene Scharrer's recording career was less focused on Bach. Though her recording of the Prelude and Fugue in C-sharp major from Book I enjoyed considerable popularity in the 1920s, it was somewhat overshadowed by her celebrated recordings of Chopin. Still, the performance is deemed 'a splendid example of how Bach should be played, the fugue especially [being] a model of clear exposition and rhythmic motion'.[78] Scharrer is said to

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74. *The Gramophone*, April 1927: 459. Latham was, like Anderson and Robertson, involved in the music appreciation movement and contributed to *The Gramophone* from its first issue (Morgan 2013: 72).

75. Regarding the reviews of Boughton, Greville, and Jacobson, it is worth noting that *The Sackbut*, the publication in which these appeared, was known to be more polemical in character than its contemporaries: 'instead of chronicling the weekly events of musical life in Britain, *The Sackbut* featured opinionated articles on the aesthetics and philosophy of music… [It catered] to a younger set of readers and [shocked] the older musical establishment through its poems and radical essays' (McGuire 2008: 12).

76. *The Sackbut*, June 1927: 338. It is difficult to ascertain who is speaking in the first person singular, considering this review is credited to two authors. Like many critics, Greville had a varied range of activities: as a soprano, she gained some acclaim in the 1920s for her performances and arrangements of English folk song (*Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 Oct 1926: 31; *The New York Times*, 17 Oct 1926: 28), and edited *The Sackbut* from 1921 to 1934 (McGuire 2008: 12–14; Smith 1994: 185). Moreover, she was one of very few women at the time to be a recording engineer (Gaston-Bird 2020: § 'Women in Talking Pictures'). Maurice Jacobson was a composer, former pupil of Stanford and Holst at the Royal College of Music, as well as a pianist (*The Musical Times*, April 1976: 339).

77. *The Sackbut*, September 1927: 56. Gerville & Jacobson. See notes 75 and 76.

78. *The Gramophone*, February 1924: 180. Vladimir Cernikov, also known as Cernikoff, pianist, writer, and transcriber. Among other things, he recorded the piano four-hands version of Brahms's Waltzes Op. 39 with Edith Barnett in 1927 (*The Gramophone*, October 1927: 191).

have had 'the mind, temperament, and fingers for harpsichord music'.[79] This probably had something to do with the 'dry sparkle' or 'brilliance and clarity' that were identified with her performance in other reviews of the same record.[80]

Kempff, though recognised in Britain as a Bach performer through the imported Polydor pressings,[81] met with mixed reviews for some idiosyncratic traits: 'the contrasts in the D major [Prelude from Book I] are too violent and it is unfortunate that in *pianissimo* the sound should occasionally fade into inaudibility';[82] or later on the D major Prelude from Book II, 'some of the bass pushes seem a trifle lacking in point, but he shapes the music: perhaps a bit too pointedly, in the little Handelian flourishes of the Fugue'.[83]

One of the few mentions of Wilhelm Backhaus's Bach playing appears in reference to a recording of the Prelude and Fugue in B-flat major from Book II, a filler side for Beethoven Op. 81a, on which it was said that the pianist treated Bach in a 'curiously matter-of-fact' way.[84]

Evlyn Howard-Jones issued several Beethoven recordings in the years before his Prelude and Fugues; it was noted about his Op. 27 no. 2 recording that 'he plays the *score* without any of those disfiguring *rubatos* so dear to the virtuoso, so destructive to the proportions of the music'.[85] Myra Hess's 'slight reserve', in Schubert, is 'rather an addition than the opposite'.[86] Backhaus was just as often commended for his rigorous observance to the score and expressive restraint.

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79. *The British Musician and Musical News*, November 1926: 100. Sydney Grew. He was then the editor of the *BM&MN*. Grew was an organist and former pupil of Granville Bantock, but mostly known for his writing and lecturing in music appreciation (*The Musical Times*, March 1947: 109).

80. *The Gramophone*, October 1926: 199. Peter Latham. See note 74. *The Musical Times*, November 1926: 1016. 'Discus'. See note 68.

81. *The Gramophone*, March 1925: 374.

82. *The Gramophone*, May 1926: 577. Cyril M. Crabtree. Another music appreciation journalist. For example, a later article by him offers the reader a moment-to-moment analysis of the first movement of Beethoven's String Quartet Op. 59 no. 1 to be read while listening to the Budapest String Quartet's recording (*The Gramophone* January 1932: 328–9). The comment about the *pianissimo* should be taken in the context of early record criticism, which remained highly preoccupied with the technical merits of the sound reproduction in addition to those of the performance.

83. *The Gramophone*, October 1932: 174. W. R. Anderson. See note 65.

84. *The Gramophone*, July 1935: 63. Alec Robertson. See note 71.

85. *The Musical Times*, October 1926: 918. Italics in the original. See note 68.

86. *The Gramophone*: July 1928: 62. 'C.J.' See notes 63 and 61.

A telling case study is provided by Columbia's abortive attempt at a complete recording of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.[87] Unusually, the task was divided between two pianists. The initial instalment, containing Harriet Cohen's performance of the first nine preludes and fugues, generally met with enthusiastic praise. For *The Gramophone,* Cohen represents a happy synthesis of opposing approaches to Bach:

> A vast majority of players approach Bach in the same frame of mind with which they would enter a museum… Others do just the opposite and try to pull him about to suit their own 'style.' … In the case of Harriet Cohen we find a rare and happy amalgamation of both, of the spirit of Bach and her own vivid personality… The result is a really personal performance with Bach, in spite of the past two centuries, made alive, in the way in which we modern people think and feel. She comes to the world of Bach-playing like fresh air into a stuffy room.[88]

Another reviewer hailed the 'mastery and clarity of execution' and opined that she was 'an ideal Bach musician', adding that 'her tendency is to play Bach a little slower than other pianists. This is good, since Bach cannot be hurried on the piano'.[89]

Timothy Day quotes a review of the 1995 reissue condemning Cohen's theatrics and her 'hunt the slipper' approach to fugue subjects,[90] but it must be stressed that this view is by no means limited to the recording's later reception. Although Cohen's performance was warmly received, the acclaim was not unanimous. Rutland Boughton provides a different description for Cohen's recording:

> Harriet Cohen gives Bach a rather romantic aspect; so she is actually best left in the E flat minor Prelude which lends itself to such a performance, and in those pieces which will not allow *any* romanticism, even from her – for example, the D major prelude and the Fugues in E-flat, E major, and D minor. In those numbers the strong spirit of Bach is preserved; but it is lost in some of the others, especially in the big Fugue in C-sharp minor. The pianist's love of the very notes of the piece results in the loss of the piece itself; we see the trees indeed, but we are lost in them, and never get a glimpse of the forest as a whole. That sort of approach to Bach results in the loss of the very qualities which make Bach's art so great – its superabundant energy, and the power the master had to combine multifarious life in a single conception. Harriet Cohen's staggering entry in the D minor Prelude, and the Schumann-like emphasis on the unaccented melody which Bach left in subtle hiding; the frightfully sentimental idea of the D major Fugue; the rushed run of demisemiquavers in the E-flat major Prelude, which

87. Discussed in *The Gramophone*, December 1934: 263.

88. *The Gramophone*, March 1929: 445. 'C.J.' See note 63.

89. *The British Musician and Musical News,* April 1929: 113. Sydney Grew. See note 79.

90. Day 2000: 194. See also *The Gramophone,* July 1995: 132.

> makes the hearer think at once of the pianist's finger-work – are all details far removed from the real spirit of Bach.[91]

When the second instalment was released in 1930, containing the following eight preludes and fugues played by Evlyn Howard-Jones, it proved to be similarly polarising. Day examines the contrast between contemporaneous responses and later assessments when the set was re-released on CD to trace differences in taste and values. He observes that Howard-Jones's contemporaries accused him of erring on the side of literalism, while *Gramophone*'s recent review consecrates him as the real Bachian when compared with Cohen.[92] Indeed the writers of the 1920s admired the player's 'thought', adding that the performance was 'a little monotonous and dry at times', and better suited to musicians than to a wider listenership;[93] 'Discus' found that 'here and there the style and rhythm seems a trifle over-precise';[94] even across the Atlantic, *The New York Times*' prolific record critic Compton Pakenham wondered why Cohen had not been asked to continue the recording, complaining that 'Mr Howard-Jones's manner is at all times rather too scholarly and in many places almost mechanical'.[95] But, just as Cohen was criticised for her expressive freedom, there is evidence that Howard-Jones also had enthusiastic supporters in his own time. In the review quoted above, 'Discus' goes on to describe his 'over-precise' style as a virtue, 'seeing how much sloppy rhythm and erratic time-values we have to endure from eminent fiddlers and pianists', adding that the 'clarity is impeccable'. *The Musical Mirror*'s review contained unqualified praise for the performance:

> Mr. Howard-Jones is a 'steady' player; he does not attempt to over-emotionalize the music, but is content to allow the perfect symmetry of the part-writing to speak for itself. That this method is admirable for recording purposes is proved by the fact that if one follows the works with the printed copy one has no difficulty in clearly distinguishing the inner parts and basses.[96]

Once more, a certain structuralist engagement with the score seems to inform the argument of the 'restrained' camp. Beyond helping critics to define an expressive–restrained axis, the comparison of the two performances led record critics to discuss a

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91. *The Sackbut,* June 1930: 307–8. Italics in the original. See notes 75 and 76.
92. Day 2000: 193–4.
93. *The Gramophone,* August 1930: 128.W. R. Anderson. See note 65.
94. *The Musical Times,* August 1930: 715. See note 68.
95. *The New York Times,* 7 December 1930: 134.
96. *The Musical Mirror,* November 1930: 337. unsigned.

crucial element of Bach playing on the modern piano: the thorny question of voice-leading, more specifically the issue of how much emphasis to give subject entries in fugues. From the same review, Howard-Jones is praised for not falling 'into the fault of "thumping out" the entry of each voice'.[97] Quoting Tovey, 'Discus' complained that

> 'Much pianistic fugue-playing has passed as "scholarly" when it even fails to reach that definition, inasmuch as it "brings out the subject" as if all the rest of the fugue were unfit for publication. This notion is peculiar to pianists.'[98] It is clearly Miss Cohen's notion, and it spoils my pleasure in her fugue-playing. Tovey might have gone on to point out that players who soloise the subject over-much fail to realise that a fugue is a conversation between equals, not a monologue or an ostinato; and that two of the chief products of fugal writing – harmony and texture – are sacrificed when too much is made of any one part throughout.[99]

'Discus' broached the subject again the following year in his review of Howard-Jones's contribution: 'He takes the view that the inner part should be made to stand out, but he doesn't overdo the principle as some players do'.[100] Neville Cardus deemed Cohen's fugue playing 'prosaic'[101] in terms of her treatment of the fugue subjects, and it is possible that he shared Discus's opinion. It is discernible from several sources that the weight to give a fugue subject was a going concern in the debates about performance, and that it was one more dividing line in the categorisation of expressive vs. restrained.

Searching this body of criticism, it becomes apparent that a less-is-more approach to expressivity in musical performance was a topic of interest to critics. Having surveyed responses to the most influential Bach recordings, I can conclude that making generalised comments on the recorded output of these pianists in other repertoires would require an encyclopaedic survey of record criticism, but the salient examples that I have provided of such reactions to these performers' general approach to music – whether approving or condemning – have shed some light on this phenomenon.

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97. Ibid.

98. This is a quotation from Tovey 1924a: 11–12 (See under 'Scores').

99. *The Musical Times*, April 1929: 327. See note 68.

100. *The Musical Times*, August 1930: 715. See note 68.

101. *The Manchester Guardian*, 7 May 1929: 9. Cardus was described in his obituary as 'one of the last of the last survivors of the great *Manchester Guardian* school of journalists' and 'the last distinguished music critic never to have received any formal musical training. Like Shaw and Newman, he was a writer first and a music critic second.' (*The Guardian*, 1 March 1975: 1, 8). Curiously he was also the newspaper's cricket commentator at the time.

Beyond the generalities of Bach reviews, valuing soberness, dignity, or reconciliation between past and present, the reviews reveal several points of contention involving concrete musical events: tempo fluctuation, textual fidelity, and the balancing of musical strata. Cohen was praised for her flexibility, spaciousness, and freedom in impressionistic and literary accounts, while Samuel and Howard-Jones were recognised for their restraint and lack of affectation in terms that are suggestive of a more structuralist and anti-romantic position. This reflects two broad conceptions of Bach that were extant at the time. One may feel the temptation to consider these as analogous to a romantic–modernist dichotomy, but they were by no means rigidly separate categories. Furthermore, as is seen in Chapter 6 and 7, the recordings themselves do not always conform with the expectations that may arise from such a romantic–modernist characterisation.

Bach's trajectory in the gramophonic culture of Britain in the 1920s and early 1930s has left some revealing traces. Records of his works have been involved in the quest for cultural respectability among the producers and manufacturers, and have participated in the aspirational, educational aims of a musical culture that was enthused by the promise of new media. In the burgeoning record criticism of the 1920s, these documents also were the subject of lively debates about style, taste, and appropriateness. These debates inform the portfolio of performance analyses undertaken in Chapters 6 and 7.

6. Identity Parade
Seven Recordings of the Prelude in C-sharp major

The evidence reviewed in the previous chapter aims to account for a range of social and historically located phenomena, namely the production, circulation, and discussion of recorded performances. However, the dichotomies so often encountered in these discussions – 'expressive' and 'restrained', 'singing' and 'rhythmical', 'prosaic' and 'imaginative', pairs that so often reflect the biases and *a priori* judgements of the writer more than anything else – fall short of describing Bach pianism in the 1920s, let alone assessing the traits that might emerge from such a description. For this purpose, it becomes necessary to examine the recordings themselves and to scrutinise the audible traces of performance strategies that they contain.

Setting a forthrightly descriptive agenda for Chapter 6, I juxtapose seven recordings of the same brief movement, the Prelude in C-sharp major from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* Book I. This group of performances – involving contrasts as well as commonalities – is presented with the aim of exploring a broad field of possibilities that were accepted at the time as valid pianistic approaches to Bach's keyboard works. The narrative structure of this chapter is deliberately peculiar. It retraces how I applied different analytical, interpretative, and conceptual tools to the same material. At each turn, I gained new insight but reached a different set of methodological shortcomings. The moral dimension of this account is all the clearer when laid out this way: no single approach works so well as to eliminate the need for the others.

I begin by revisiting key issues and concepts that govern studies on archival recordings, including expectations about what one is likely to find and commonly accepted methodologies for generating results. I list the recordings under review, then discuss the score, subdividing the movement into convenient sections to organise my listening. Initially, having used nothing more than a pair of earphones, coloured pencils, and seven printouts, I give a brief description of each performance. Then, I turn to computer-aided methods to refine these observations. After the general overviews, the separate sections and transitions from the movement are considered in relation to the multiplicity of performance approaches. Finally, using the findings from this inquiry, I discuss ways of describing Bach pianism that may account for the peculiarities

encountered here, and, more generally, make meaningful connections between commentators' responses and the evidence heard on recordings.

This chapter is therefore preoccupied with establishing methodological criteria and critical issues in the analysis of early Bach recording. The investigation of record criticism in Chapter 5 invites a series of interrelated questions such as: (1) What strategies or parameters did pianists employ to be expressive in a solo Bach work on the piano? (2) Looking beyond general trends (those that track a gradually more circumspect use of expressive features in performance during the first half of the twentieth century), in what ways does the relative importance of different kinds of expressive strategies vary among this group of pianists? (3) How can one describe Bach pianism in a manner that captures more nuance than 'modernist' and 'romantic', or 'expressive' and 'restrained'?

Approaching Recordings: Issues and Concepts

Description can never be completely divorced from interpretation, a process into which issues of taste, style, and history are embedded. The historiographical questions discussed in Chapter 1 therefore function as a link between the historical and cultural materials explored in Chapters 2 through 5 on the one hand, and, on the other, the analysis of performed phenomena on record. Timothy Day argued that 'performances are expressive (and by extension, faithful) on their own terms' adding that 'an examination of the changes in performance styles is in effect an analysis of the "situational logic" behind them'.[1] Hennion and Fauquet further comment on how musical cultures build up works as a result of accepted and authoritative performances;[2] insofar as every time and place might thus bring into existence a Bach that is its own, authoritative examples of Bach performance between the two World Wars disclose useful insights with which to approach the question 'who was Bach in this particular time and place?'. These questions warrant a detailed discussion of the concepts and categories that they invoke before any attempt can be made to answer them. Of course, it is not a foregone conclusion that there was a single Bach for this time and place – or indeed for any time or place.

Once a general aim has been articulated – i.e. to develop a more fine-grained understanding of how Bach was treated by pianists of the interwar era – subsidiary aims

1. Day 2000: 194, 196.
2. Argued by Hennion & Fauquet 2001, this is view is developed with respect to Bach in Chapter 2.

follow on. The analysis of recordings undertaken in this chapter and the next aim to complement the discourse and cultural history alluded to above. Moreover, the re-examination of performance styles that are no longer extant prompts a wider reflection on the historical contingency of norms that govern performance. This deals a blow to any implication that performance style is governed by permanent criteria (as some have claimed with respect to 'mainstream' musicianship reliant on tradition, putative 'good taste', and pedagogical lineages) or is the result of gradual refinement in ever more faithful historical reconstruction (as has been claimed by certain exponents of a historically informed musicianship).[3]

As an entry into the matter, it is useful to recall some of the expectations that typically condition scholarly approaches to early recordings and early performance style more broadly. Many studies on this topic describe defunct stylistic approaches, particularly those of the late nineteenth century, in opposition to a 'mainstream' that is taught today in conservatoires. Milsom and Peres Da Costa identify a number of un-notated practices that often feature, and which constitute a glimpse into nineteenth-century taste. These un-notated practices included wider fluctuation in tempo (or *tempo rubato*), the breaking of chords, frequent temporal dislocation between melody and accompaniment, and freedom with the letter of the composer's text. Turning to patterns that might combine structural parameters, dynamics, and tempo, the phenomenon of 'phrase arching' has been found to be especially common in recordings by performers who trained in the nineteenth century.[4] Nicholas Cook describes it in the following terms:

> as you play into a phrase, you typically get faster and louder; as you come out of it, you get slower and softer. That is, whereas in the domain of accentuation there is a direct relationship between duration and dynamic value, in that of phrasing there is an inverse relationship. Or to put it another way, the association is not between duration and dynamics but between tempo and dynamics.[5]

This is identified by Milsom and Peres Da Costa as having its roots in the paradigm of vocality and melody-based phrasing that governed nineteenth-century expressivity.[6]

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3. Care should be taken not to stereotype either of the two musical groupings evoked here, both of which count many thoughtful and pluralist practitioners, but the temptations summarised here are certainly present.
4. Milsom & Peres Da Costa 2014: 81–90.
5. Cook 2013 : 176–77.
6. Milsom & Peres Da Costa 2014: 82.

However, many of these common expectations about early recordings are specific to nineteenth-century repertoire: owing to the overwhelming preponderance of romantic music in the early record catalogues and concert programmes of the time, it has received comparatively sustained attention in the scholarly literature.[7] We come to expect certain traits from the performances of pianists born or trained in the nineteenth century: however, in the case of Bach's keyboard works, some of these expectations are frustrated.

Certain methodological issues require discussion before a specific methodological protocol can be outlined. There are many sophisticated quantitative approaches, particularly thanks to the research outputs of the Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music,[8] most notably in the form of software such as Sonic Visualiser and an arsenal of plugins and automated routines. Much has been achieved through this quantitative turn, but key reservations have more recently been expressed about it. Rink notes that 'some studies in this vein seem more intent on generating data for its own sake rather than using data to reach musically meaningful conclusions', adding that the resulting scholarship may engender a 'disconnect … between the concerns of the researchers producing the work and those of performers in general'.[9] Leech-Wilkinson warns that

> it's all too easy to be led into hearing things one can see on a computer screen but can't perceive without one. Just listening, and writing down what one hears, is often a very good way to get started when studying a performance.[10]

The usefulness of annotated scores to describe articulation and phrasing cannot be overstated. This practice has a long history of use in defining publications[11] and has yielded critical and detailed observations. Such an approach allows one to devote attention to parameters that are more difficult to capture empirically, such as articulation, rhythmic accentuation, and phrasing. This being said, quantitative methods are not eschewed in this study. The possibilities of displaying sound synchronically, or of delving into the fine-grained detail of moment-to-moment changes, help elucidate otherwise vague impressions felt during the experience of listening.

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7. See for example Repp 1992; Rink 2001; Cook 2007b; Leech-Wilkinson 2010; Llorens 2018.
8. See https://charm.rhul.ac.uk/studies/p6.html (accessed 9 September 2020).
9. Rink 2015: 128.
10. Leech-Wilkinson 2009b: Ch. 8.2 ¶25.
11. See Fabian 2003 and Walls 2003.

Compiling Discography and Evaluating the Score

Somewhat unusually, considering the relative scarcity of Bach recordings in this era, the Prelude and Fugue in C-sharp major from Book I of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* was recorded eight times by seven pianists in the early decades of commercial recording. This work did not receive disproportionate attention in criticism or concert programmes, but a few reasons for this comparative profusion of gramophonic accounts may be ventured. The full work fits unproblematically on one side of a 12-inch disc without the need for cuts or a side break; the piece records well, given the challenges of the early recording process. Finally, the lively character of both movements may have catered to the early record-buying public's taste for short, pithy items, as was seen in the preferences of gramophone society listeners in Chapter 5. The recordings are listed in Table 6.1. Three of the seven extant recordings I have analysed[12] were made by British pianists, and four by Germans. For any kind of study on Bach pianism in the early recorded age, this array of documented performances constitutes an irresistible opportunity to gather general observations. The exercise is illustrative of a multiplicity of trends extant in the 1920s, and it introduces key criteria for describing and evaluating early Bach performances.

Performer	**Year**	**Catalogue number**
Wilhelm Backhaus	1908	HMV 05512
Irene Scharrer	1921	HMV D 576
Walter Gieseking	1925	Homocord unissued matrix 51785[13]
Wilhelm Kempff	1928	Polydor 67166[14]
Harriet Cohen	1928	Columbia L 2240
Myra Hess	1929	Columbia 4085M
Edwin Fischer	1933	HMV DB 2080

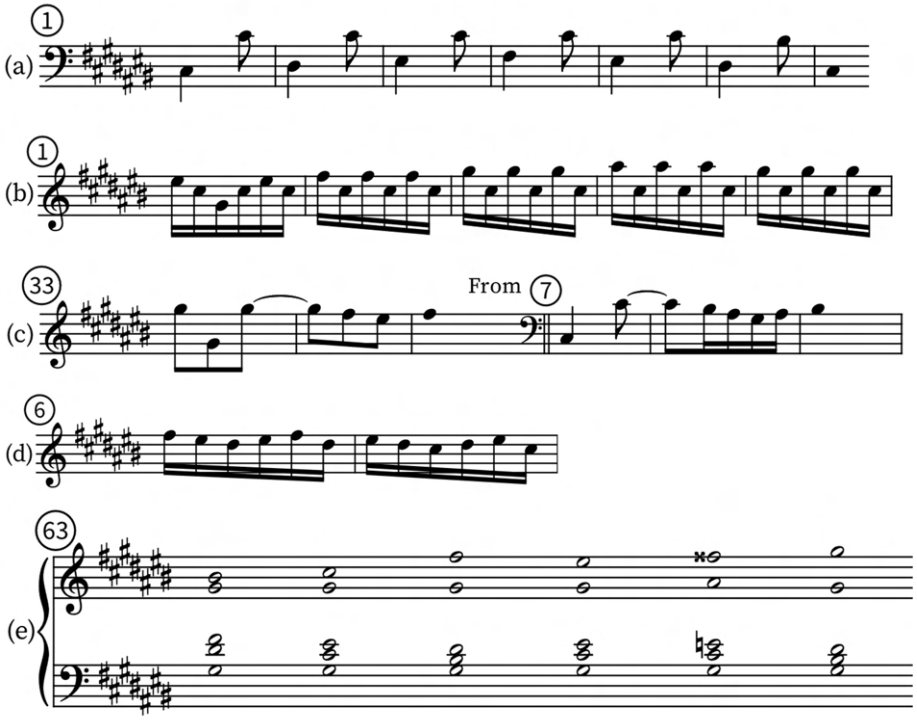
Table 6.1. Recorded examples examined in this chapter

12. See notes 14 and 18 in this chapter about Kempff's recording.

13. Upon careful listening, I am reasonably certain that this recording was made using the acoustical process. If recorded in 1925, when electrical recording was introduced, it would have been rendered obsolete by the time of its release, which might explain why it was not issued.

14. Based on an earlier review (*The Gramophone*, May 1925: 577) there also exists an acoustically recorded performance by Kempff. The work recorded on the other side – the Prelude and Fugue in D major from Book I – is the same, but the catalogue numbers differ (the older one is Polydor 65699). Based on Frank Forman's Kempff discography (http://www.panix.com/~checker/kempff.htm [accessed 14 January 2020]) these are indeed two different recordings made a few years apart. It is likely that the two sides were re-recorded because of the introduction of electrical recording. The acoustically recorded

To describe the performances on record, I begin by annotating a score. As seen in Chapter 4, the Bach Gesellschaft edition and Bischoff's were the two likeliest to have been used by serious pianists of this time. In Appendix 5, I have typeset the text of the Prelude as it appears in these two printed sources, taking care to reproduce exactly the typographical features of the text, e.g. beaming, stem direction, and distribution of music on the staves.[15]



Example 6.1. Census of motivic material in the Prelude in C-sharp major BWV 848
(a) Motif 1 (b) semiquaver patterning (c) motif 2 (d) accompanying figure (e) transition (reduced to its constituent harmonic progression)

I then divided the movement into broad sections according to the phrases and melodic materials they comprise. While more akin to a taxonomy than to an analysis, this forms a purposefully loose outline for describing what the performers do in the recordings. Example 6.1 lists salient motivic materials, some of which are melodic and come to be involved in contrapuntal interplay; others involve harmonic patterning. Motif 1 always appears with a pattern of semiquavers outlining the harmony. The fragment identified as 'accompanying figure' initially appears in the concluding gesture of the first

Polydor appears to be rare: I have had no success in locating an extant copy or digital reissue, although a few photographs of the label exist online.

15. Although Bischoff adds tempo and dynamic markings, the two agree on the notes.

phrase (bars 6–7). In bars 32 to 46, it is the countersubject to motif 2 in a modulating and imitative passage. In passing, this attests to the economy of musical material with which Bach develops the movement: in this section, motif 2 and its accompanying figure both derive from the concluding two bars of the first phrase. The fragment identified as 'transition' consists of harmonic patterning on the chord progression in bars 63 to 73 and 87 to 96. This patterning, along with the accompanied increase in harmonic tension, occurs at two key transitions. There is some material that is unaccounted for, such as the semiquavers in the right hand at bars 77–78 and 81–82, which could plausibly be described as a transformation of the 'accompanying motif'.

Section	**Bars**	**Tonal Area**	**Features**
A1	1–8	C-sharp major	Motif 1 in LH
A2	9–16	G-sharp major	Motif 1 in RH
A3	17–24	D-sharp minor	Motif 1 in LH
A4	25–32	A-sharp minor	Motif 1 in RH
B	33–46	Modulating	Motif 2 moving from one hand to another
A5	47–54	F-sharp major	Motif 1 in RH
A6	55–62	C-sharp major	Motif 1 in LH
C1	63–74	C-sharp major	Transition
D	75–86	C-sharp minor	
C2	87–96	C-sharp major	Transition
E	97–104	C-sharp major	Cadenza-like arpeggiated material in semiquavers across both hands, leading to a final cadence in block chords

Table 6.2. Sections in the Prelude in C-sharp major BWV 848

Table 6.2 catalogues sections of the Prelude according to tonal area and to this subdivision of motivic material. This is a preliminary exercise in attributing labels to events in order to have a reasonably intuitive set of markers to accompany the discussions in prose that follow. Using rehearsal marks in boxes, I have labelled the score in Appendix 5 with these sections. This forms a mosaic of components which form the basis of my analytical endeavour, in the broadest sense articulated by Agawu: 'to take apart and to show how constituent elements interact with one another to create a larger, not necessarily unified whole.'[16]

16. Agawu 1991: 4.

Methodology

In this study, the recordings have mostly been obtained from the catalogue of the Naxos Music Library streaming service, which also distributes reissues by Music & Arts and APR.[18] I used the free software Audacity to record the excerpts through my computer's sound card. The only editing applied at this point was to normalise the levels to fit within the amplitude ceiling of the track. They were then saved as uncompressed .wav files.

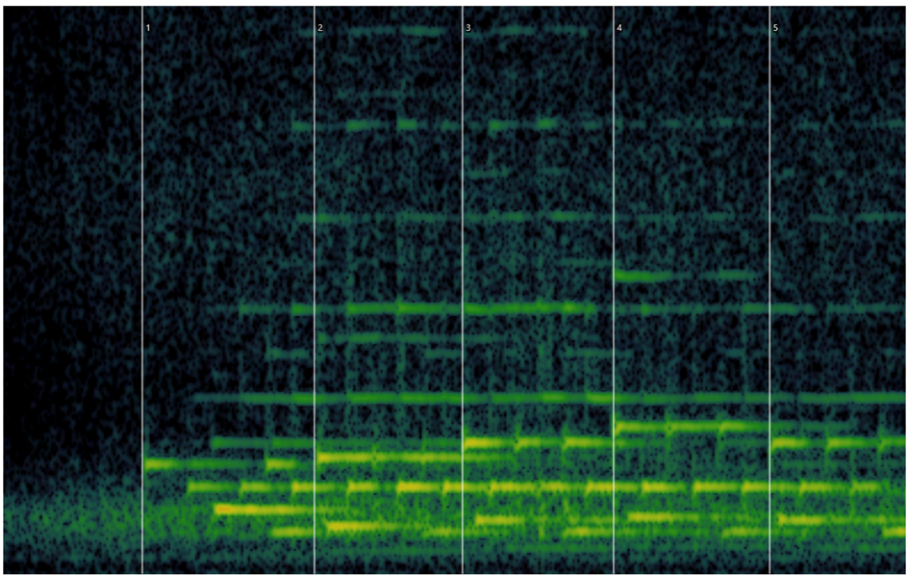


Figure 6.1. Placement of onset times for bars using a spectrogram as a visual aid[17]

Using Sonic Visualiser, I have done 'reverse conducting' to label bars of the movement in a time instants layer. This was first done whilst listening to the excerpt at reduced playback speed. Secondly, the inaccuracies in the initial placement of these onset times were remedied with the help of repeated listening and the visual aid of a spectrogram, which visually displays onsets more clearly and intuitively: Figure 6.1 shows how vertical 'stacks' of frequencies denote the attack of the notes on the piano. As the bars coincide with the basic unit of tempo, the dotted crotchet, this data was used to generate a

17. An even more visually compelling example of simultaneous attacks on the piano producing 'stacks' of frequencies is found in Figure 7.6.

18. The full details of the reissues used in this study are listed in the bibliography. The one exception to this is the recording of Wilhelm Kempff's performance, which was made available online by YouTube user 78Ahogy. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=32Lxv-FBsuU (accessed 29 September 2020).

series of values denoting tempo in beats per minute for each onset, based on the time until the next onset.[19]

The representation of dynamics is less straightforward. Using an online programme from the Mazurka Project,[20] it is possible, for example, to automatically extract values related to the dynamic level of each beat and export them to a graphing program.[21] While it is perfect for a longitudinal data-driven analysis requiring numerical values, I am primarily interested here in referring to fine-grained moment-to-moment fluctuations of dynamic level, especially *between* beats, and commenting on them qualitatively.

One possibility is simply to use the meter values of the track, expressed in decibels below full scale, as shown in Figure 6.2. This represents the intensity of the audio signal in its rawest form, but is crowded with more detail than is necessary and becomes difficult to read.

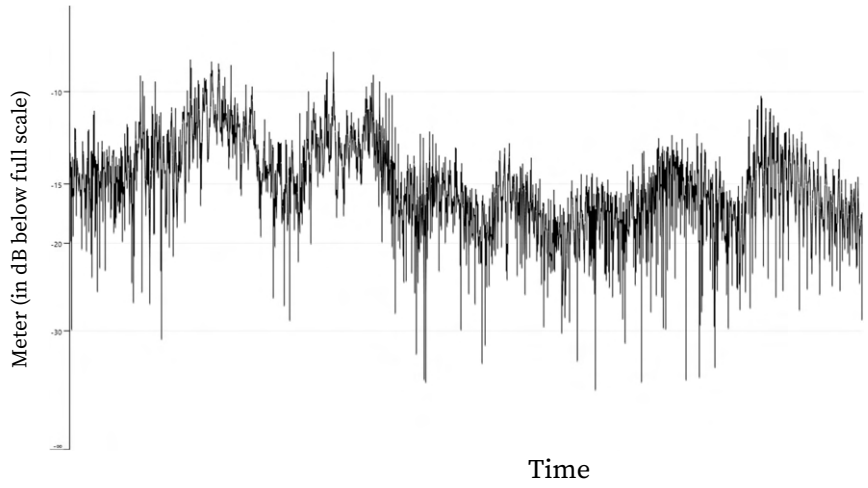


Figure 6.2. Meter values for a 1.33 second long clip of audio

I have used the BBC's intensity plugin, which has the effect of smoothing the input data using a Fast Fourier Transform (FFT). The output of the plugin's default settings is shown in Figure 6.3.

19. It should be noted that I choose to display these values as connected points rather than as a curve in Appendix 6. At this level of detail tempo data is only useful as an intuitive way to ascertain which bars are elongated or compressed. Care should be taken not to read 'slopes' as they might appear in a tempo graph displaying a curved line.

20. http://www.mazurka.org.uk/software/online/dynamatic/ (accessed 17 August 2020)

21. This has, for example, been used extensively in Llorens 2018, Appendix V. Other models were explored in Kosta 2017.

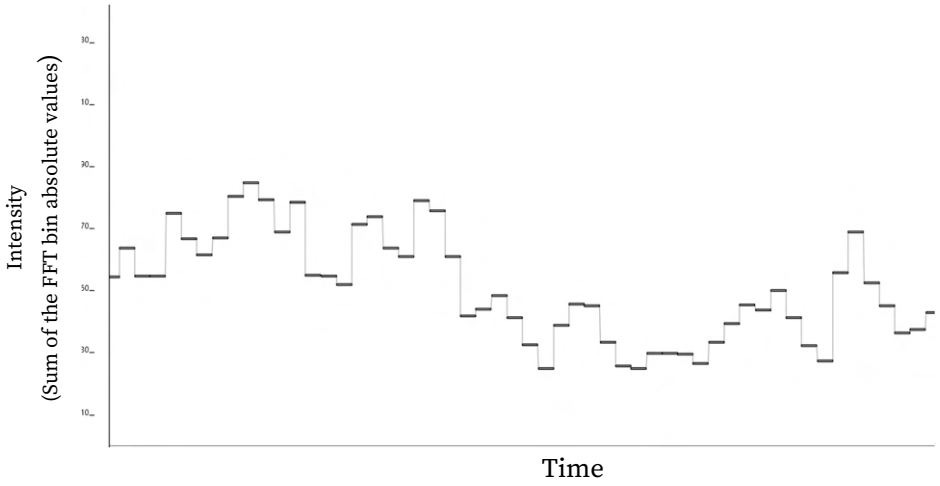


Figure 6.3. Output of the BBC Intensity plugin at default settings (same audio clip as Figure 6.2)

Changing the window increment in the settings has the effect of varying the extent of the smoothing. Figure 6.4 shows the curve for the same audio using a window increment of 512 and 64 samples. Figure 6.5 shows the complete settings that were used for generating the visualisation of dynamics in this chapter and in Chapter 7. This is a level of detail that satisfies the requirements of the inquiry below.

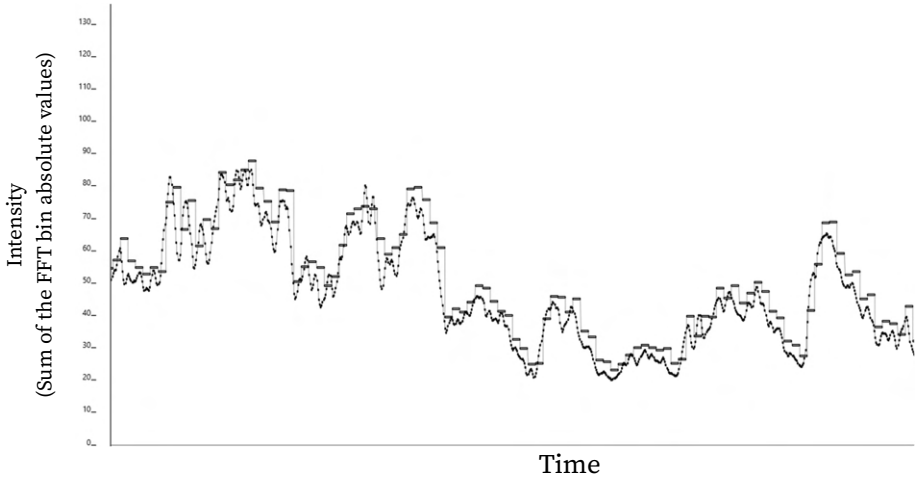


Figure 6.4. Output of the BBC Intensity plugin (same audio clip as Figures 6.2 and 6.3)
dots: window increment of 64 samples
connected segments: window increment of 512 samples

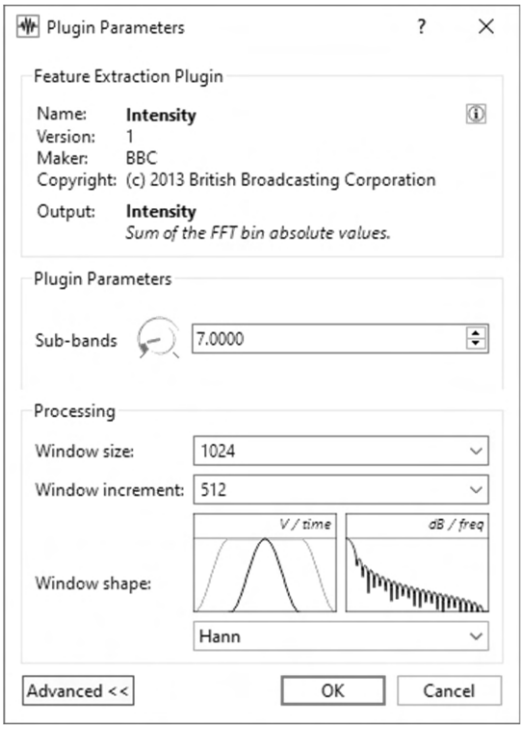


Figure 6.5. Settings used for the BBC plugin

I then combine this way of showing dynamics with the more easily quantifiable measure of tempo. The resulting graphs (in Appendices 6 and 7, demonstrated here in Figure 6.6) present three layers of information. The horizontal axis accounts for clock time. It is segmented by labelled vertical lines indicating the bar lines of the score. A series of connected points indicates the tempo for each bar, with labels indicating the value in beats per minute. The levels of intensity – in this case, a proxy for dynamics – are displayed as connected segments. There are two vertical axes in these figures, which are labelled in beats per minute and in absolute values for the sums of the FFT bins. Finally, the excerpt of the score to which each sound example refers is aligned with the graph insofar as possible.

Taking Figure 6.6 as a general example of how such a representation may be used, see how there are two accents on each downbeat, and another one on the third beat of bar 10. One can then note how the decrease of dynamics in beat 2 of bar 9 is associated with a slight drop in tempo, and conversely, that the accent in beat 3 of bar 10 comes with an increase in tempo. Such a figure exists in the domain data visualisation rather than data analysis per se, but I have found it useful for making musical observations on the recordings while gesturing towards empirical features.

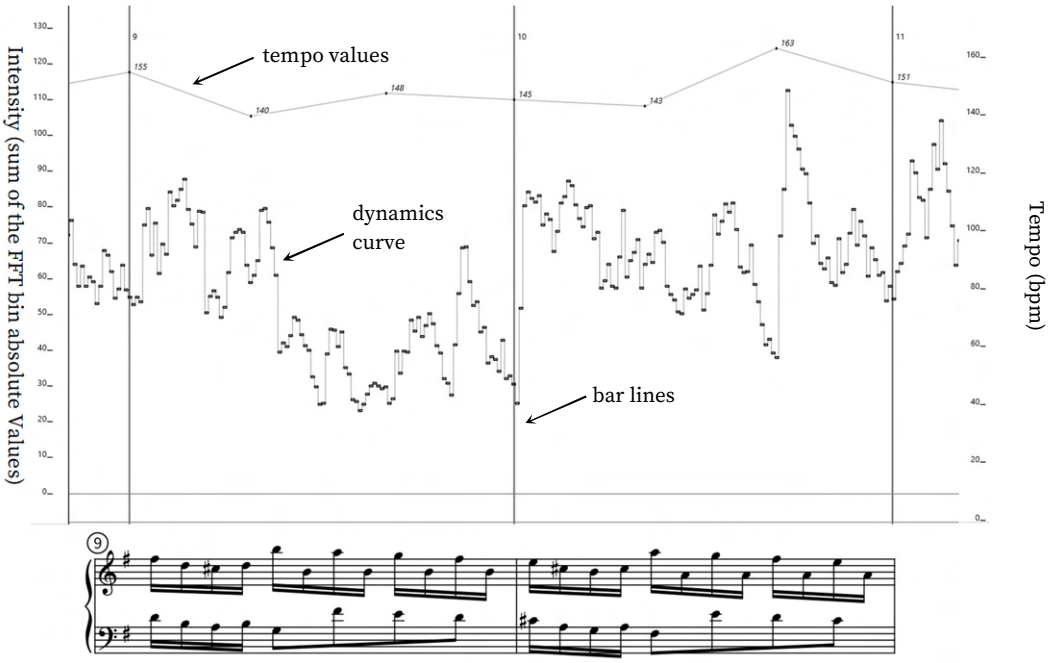


Figure 6.6. Example of the resulting *sui generis* figure displaying tempo and dynamics[22]

For the purpose of providing a bird's-eye view of a whole performance, other tools are available. Figure 6.7 shows a hierarchical average plot. In principle, there is no constraint on the kind of data that can be used, but in this case, the tempo data (acquired as discussed above) are exported as a .txt file from Sonic Visualiser and input to another online software made available by the Mazurka Project.[23] This generates graphical representations that give a different synchronic perspective on an entire performance. The triangular plot shows how each value deviates from the average of the entire data set. While the local variations are shown at the base of the triangle (with faster tempo shown in lighter hues and slower tempo shown in darker hues), the ramifications, stretching upwards on the triangle, give an intuitive impression of how this local variation accumulates at phrase- and section-levels.[24]

22. This example shows bars 9 and 10 of Harold Samuel's performance of the Prelude in G major (Book II). N.B. The audio clip in Figures 6.2–4 is bar 9 of this figure.

23. http://www.mazurka.org.uk/software/online/scape/ (accessed 17 August 2020).

24. A thoroughgoing discussion of the methodology behind the hierarchical average plots can be found at http://www.mazurka.org.uk/ana/timescape/ (accessed 17 August 2020).

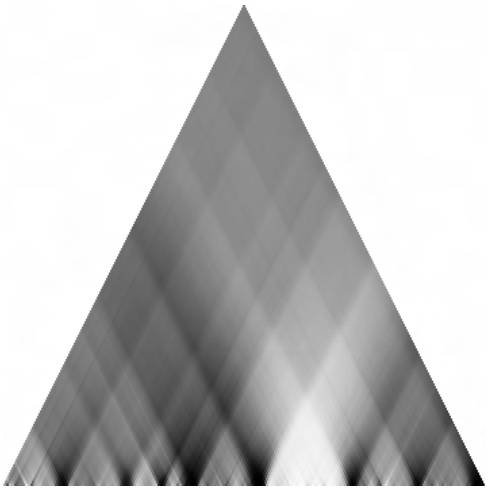


Figure 6.7. Example of a hierarchical average plot of tempo[25]

Figure 6.7 is one of the examples provided in the Mazurka Project's web page. It explains that 'in these plots, the *poco più vivo* section is displayed in white since it is faster than the average tempo of the piece. Black regions at the bottom of the pictures indicate where the tempo slows down at phrase boundaries', adding that the example here reproduced displayed 'very arched phrasing, playing the middle of phrases faster, and the phrase endings slower'.[26] This can allow the analyst to generate a synchronic summary of a performance which reveals patterns visually.

While it is important to specify the uncertainties that this study proposes to clarify, there are age-old problems which it is not claiming to solve. The limited number of performers and performances renders any attempt at general conclusions tentative at best. There are simply too few extant recordings from this time to attempt any conclusive or quantitatively supported definition of British, German, or even a generically '1920s' Bach performance style. What this study can attest to, however, is the marked pluralism of approaches that is evident in the available sample of performances. It can find ways to differentiate and describe them in ways that are tailored to the specificities they present. Such an analysis can better understand the two-way traffic between the performance features and the cultural manifestations investigated elsewhere in the dissertation. Finally, the high status accorded in this period to the performers under consideration

25. The performance it represents is Ronald Smith's 1975 recording of Chopin's Mazurka in F major Op. 68 no. 3.

26. http://www.mazurka.org.uk/ana/timescape/ (accessed 17 August 2020).

warrants a discussion of their individual traits, as these were recognised exemplars of acceptable Bach performance in their time.

Accounting for General Shape

The following section accounts for the overall features of each of these performances and describes the large-scale treatment of the movement. This initial 'identity parade' is also undertaken as a general demonstration of how performers' decisions amount to an engagement with 'shape' and 'form' relative to the fixed text.

Backhaus 1908

Backhaus initially eases into tempo. Motif 1 is phrased in such a way as to emphasise the slurred pairs of notes: he places an accent on the first of each pair whenever this pattern occurs. The tied notes over the barline such as in bar 7 into bar 8 (LH), or bar 15 into bar 16 (RH) *et seq*. are accented. This makes a contrast with the previously established pattern of crotchet–quaver pairs. There is little change in overall dynamic throughout B, but Backhaus drops in level on the return of A6 and shapes this phrase with a crescendo and decrescendo. At both C1 and C2 he begins slightly softer and slower, increasing both tempo and dynamic level until the G-C♯-E-A♯-F𝄪 harmony. E broadens gradually until the end.

Scharrer 1921

Scharrer's recording is richly textured with local-level events. She phrases the crotchet–quaver pairs, effecting an accent on the first of each pair. Her phrasing of bar 7 additionally places an accent on the down beat. Her tempo is comparatively variegated, both within phrases and between phrases. A4 is played slightly under tempo. In B, the left hand is consistently louder, although this could be due to the recording. Scharrer eases into A5 with a significant drop in both tempo and dynamic. In A6, she returns to tempo, though remains quieter. At C1, the crescendo begins and is accompanied by a an accelerando. In D, she plays the first gesture, bars 75–8, loud and the second one, bars 79–83, at a softer dynamic. She begins C2 quietly, increasing the dynamic level only late. E is *forte* and broadens in tempo only from bar 101 to the end, very significantly slower in the penultimate bar. A trait that Scharrer's performance exhibits more conspicuously than any other is the use of asynchrony between left and right hands, comparatively rare in this

selection of recordings. This occurs at the beginnings of phrases, such as in bar 1, or at the downbeat of bar 47. Furthermore, her treatment of the long-short pattern is not completely metrical or matched by the hands. In particular when the left hand is playing, the second in each of these pairings is somewhat delayed and shortened. An example of this is to be found in the final quavers of the left-hand part in bars 17 to 21.

Gieseking 1925

Instead of phrasing the crotchet–quaver pairs, Gieseking foregrounds the semiquaver patterning and the parallelism of the outer voices. The profile of the dynamics is much flatter. The only significant change in dynamic or tempo occurs at C1, where all the notes are played short; as a result, the instrument produces less sound. In D, the dynamic level generally follows the melodic contour of the right hand with slight accents on the second beats of bars 75 and 79 to mark the beginnings of gestures. C2 is played louder than C1 and accelerates perceptibly, and E begins to broaden only at b. 101, with considerable emphasis on the solid chords in 103. In many ways, Gieseking's performance is comparatively uniform, as concerns parameters such as tempo and dynamics.

Kempff 1928

In terms of tempo, Kempff's recording is the most flexible of the seven. Phrase endings such as bars 8 and 16 are prepared with stretches in tempo. Formal junctures such as the last two bars before the return of the A material at bar 47 receive this treatment in an even more conspicuous manner. Kempff differentiates C1 from C2 with a varying treatment of texture: he begins C1 with a relatively thick sound that thins out in the transition in D, while he does the opposite in C2 leading into the coda. Kempff makes very small stretches in the tied notes in motif 2. There is a hierarchy of several levels at which time is distorted. The phrasing is fluid. It becomes considerably involved at the boundaries between phrases, but, as will be seen in the later comparison of passages, does also highlight localised groups within musical events.

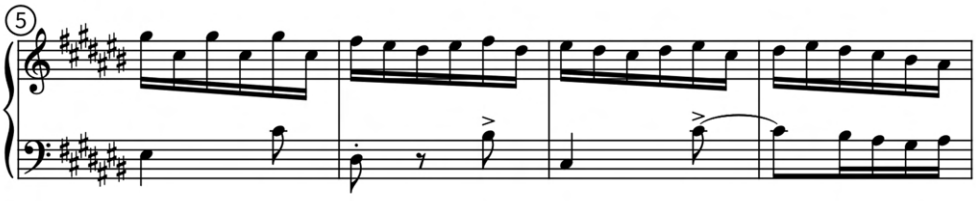
Cohen 1928

Cohen eases into tempo in the first bar. Her overall tempo is slower than those of the other performers, which arguably allows her to explore irregularities in terms of dynamics and articulation. Throughout the various A sections, she pedals the harmonies, producing a ringing 'halo of sound' effect. In the A section the melodic contour of ascent and descent

are mirrored by an accompanying swell and release in terms of dynamics. It must be observed that these swells are not completely uniform: there are rapid changes in dynamic occurring, for example at bar 29, where there is a short but steep decrescendo, or at bar 57, where there is a marked increase in dynamic. Phrase boundaries in that part of the movement are negotiated differently depending on which hand is about to play motif 1: when leading into a right-hand exposition of this material as going into A2, it is characterised by a crescendo; when the left hand is performing this task, as in the case of the transition into A3 and A4, it is marked by a decrescendo. In the B section, the semiquaver voice (the accompanying motif) makes small crescendos and decrescendos that follow the contour of the line. She highlights the octave jumps with strong accents on the third quaver of the bar wherever this occurs. At C1 there is a drop in dynamic with a crescendo to D. There is another drop from the second quaver of b. 79, coinciding with the repetition of the melodic gesture. Scharrer retains a quiet dynamic at C2. From a relatively strong peak of intensity on the downbeat of E, Cohen somewhat atypically gets quieter as she slows to the end.

Hess 1929

Hess's performance is rhythmically very uniform. She plays the A sections either without pedal, or with short dabs of pedal on the long notes in motif 1. It is foregrounded in the left hand. However, she breaks the pattern in b. 6 *et seq.*, when she shortens the down beat and detaches the final quaver of bar 6. This is shown in Example 6.2.



Example 6.2. Articulation as performed by Hess

This creates a differentiated cadential gesture. A4 is played louder, after which there is a drop in dynamic at B, which is played very evenly. There is a crescendo into A5 and a feeling of return only when A6 is played quietly again. An accent on the third quaver of b. 61 in the left hand suggests another cadential gesture going into C1. Both C sections crescendo into the next. Like Cohen and Scharrer, Hess plays the second gesture of D at a

lower dynamic. The first noticeable use of pedal – or the first use for a noticeable effect – is when she applies short dabs of pedal in the arpeggios in E. Hess broadens markedly from b. 102 at the diminished seventh chord.

Fischer 1933

Fischer's performance is characterised by contrasts between harmonically directed passages in which he pedals generously, and more thinly articulated passages such as the contrapuntal B sections. The tone colour of the beginning returns with A5 and A6. Sections C1, D, and C2 seem welded into a single unit in Fischer's 1933 performance. Both C sections crescendo into the following one. D is forte throughout and decrescendoes into C2. The arpeggiated figures in the coda, E, are generously pedalled, and there is little broadening of tempo until the arrival of the solid chords at b. 103. One final time, the abrupt articulation of detached notes breaks the pedal's halo of harmony with no small effect.

At first hearing, several trends merit mention. While none of these performances is metrical *per se*, they are comparatively streamlined in perceptual terms, especially compared to what one is accustomed to hearing on prewar recordings. Only Kempff stands out for having a noticeably flexible shaping of phrases with rubato and dynamics.

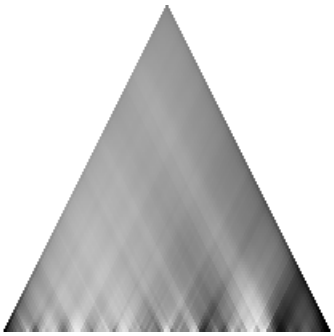
Some similarities within the British group are tantalising but may stem from the fact that Hess, Scharrer, and Cohen were all former pupils of Tobias Matthay. All three, for example, frame the two gestures in section D as a call and answer. Backhaus and Gieseking both tend to present a more uniform musical object, streamlining parameters such as dynamics and tempo. Other resemblances do not seem to correlate with nationality. Fischer and Cohen both phrase the A sections in a way that highlights the rising and descending melodic shape over eight bars, whereas Backhaus and Hess articulate the pairings of crotchets and quavers in this same section. Furthermore, the decision not to foreground the crotchet–quaver pairings can have varying musical consequences: another who makes the same decision is Gieseking. In his case, rather than foregrounding the long phrase, the listener's interest is drawn to the textured pattern of semiquavers.

As this section of the chapter examines the general features of each performance, it is interesting to begin subjecting these recordings to the scrutiny of the computer. The

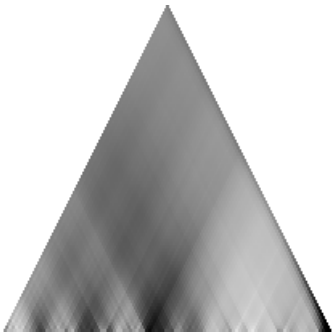
images in Figure 6.8 display how each performer shapes tempo in hierarchical average plots, as described above. These reveal certain commonalities and differences. Perhaps the most clear is the presence of pronounced dark regions in the performances of Scharrer, Kempff, Fischer, and, to a lesser extent, Cohen in the vicinity of bar 47, which is the return of the initial thematic material after the imitative B section. These graphs show all the more clearly how Kempff and Fischer delineate phrase boundaries with a slowing of tempo. Forming a contrast to this group, one may notice that the tempos of Hess, Gieseking, and to a lesser extent, Backhaus feature small and local tempo variations that do not, in the course of the performance, amount to larger-scale events.

The general features of these performances bear witness to a wide variety of treatments. At this level, it is tempting to state that they each show a pianist's encounter with what one may call 'structural features' of the work – i.e. tonal organisation, discontinuities in the compositional material, or the balance of formal spans – rather than the 'surface features' that had so often been generative of romantic expressivity in nineteenth-century piano performance.[27] For those who effected a pronounced dip in tempo around bar 47, this is manifested in terms of familiar romantic expressive devices such as tempo distortion and phrase arching. In the case of others, however, there is the use of articulation and dynamics.

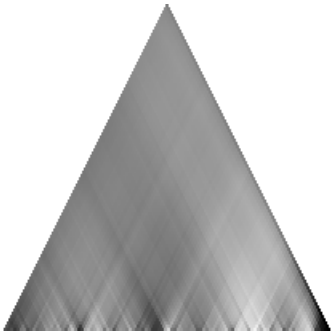
27. See for example, Milsom & Peres Da Costa 2014.



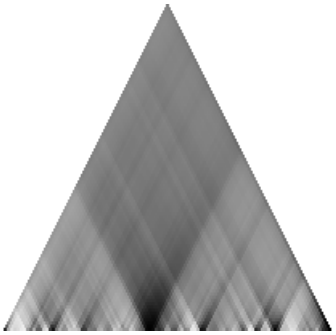
(a) Backhaus



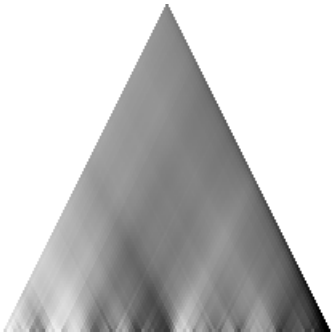
(b) Scharrer



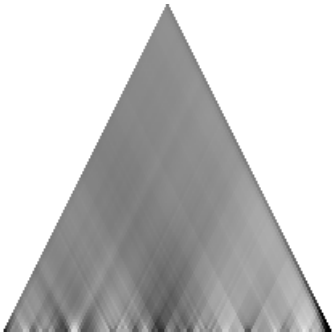
(c) Gieseking



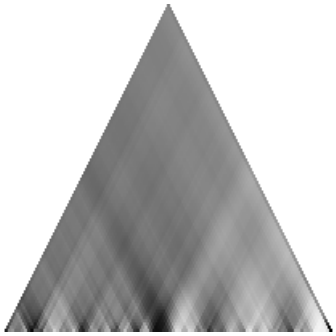
(d) Kempff



(e) Cohen



(f) Hess



(g) Fischer

Figure 6.8. Hierarchical average plots of tempo data for the seven recordings of the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I)

Section by Section

The survey of the seven performances accounts for their overall shape and the general approach adopted by the performers. However, the 'bird's eye view' summaries yield a series of subsequent questions that invite a more focused set of observations: (1) How do pianists treat recurring materials such as the A phrases with reference to their place in the over-arching scheme of the piece? (2) How do pianists treat the harmonically and thematically unstable sections such as those I have labelled as B and D? (3) How might these observations suggest a relationship between localised events and larger-scale shape?

In this section, I examine relevant moments of interest more longitudinally. Here the use of software serves the purpose of juxtaposing musical events synchronically. This analysis is undertaken to observe and compare features within a single performance as well as between different performances.

A Sections

The A sections of the Prelude lend themselves to attempts at synchronic visual representation because very similar musical material appears several times in different contexts. As seen before, the first group of phrases of the movement comprises four restatements of the same material, modulating and exchanged back and forth between the right and left hands. Following the more imitative B section, two restatements of A occur at bars 47 and 55. Furthering the previous observations with the aid of a computerised toolkit, several useful lines of inquiry emerge: (1) To what extent are pianists self-consistent in their treatment of the recurring A material? (2) How is the return of this material at bar 47 treated? (3) What do the observations related to (2) reveal about the performer's approach to form and shape?

One general feature of the group of performances is common, to a certain extent, to all the pianists. It is therefore a worthy point of entry before they can be differentiated. There is a widely shared tendency to shape the phrases of the A section with emphasis in the middle, i.e. the fourth or fifth bar of these sections, where the phrase reaches its melodic summit. This emphasis takes the form of a crescendo, or with a temporal stretch; sometimes, both together.

Cohen does this more with dynamics than with tempo, bringing the previous bar into the crescendo in bars 11–12, 19–20, 26–27, and 57–58. I have shown in Figures A6.10–12

(N.B. all figures labelled 'A6' instead of '6' are found in Appendix 6) the passages in bars 17–24, 25–32, and 55–62. The treatment in tempo is variegated, and Figure A6.11 displays a slight decrease in tempo around the middle of the phrase in bar 28–30, but the most pronounced feature is the 'hill' in terms of dynamics around the melodic summit. Kempff gives emphasis to the middle of the phrase using tempo more than dynamics, but displays considerable variety. Figure A6.6 illustrates bars 9 to 15 in Kempff's performance. There is a considerable decrease in tempo in the middle of the phrase, while the dynamics delineate two gradual shapes of ebb and flow. Scharrer is something of an outlier in this group, shaping dynamics and tempo in a more irregular way than her contemporaries. Figure A6.3 shows how, in bars 17 to 24, she gives emphasis in terms of dynamics to the beginning and the end of the phrase, placing particular emphasis on the final quaver of each bar. In bars 55 to 62, as shown in Figure A6.4, there is a gradual shaping of dynamics with a peak in the beginning of the phrase and a gradual tapering. Fischer's performance seems to use dynamics in a more pronounced manner than tempo. In bars 17 to 24 and 25 to 32, plotted in Figures A6.13–14, an increasing group of accents on each downbeat culminate in the middle of the phrase (bars 20 and 28). Although the tempo curve does not exhibit a clear and gradual shaping, bars 17 to 20, with a gradual decrease in tempo from 85.7 bpm in bar 17 to 80.1 bpm in bar 20 suggest that Fischer's performance shares to a modest extent this feature of being slower and louder on the melodic summit in the mid-point of the phrase. Backhaus, as shown in Figure A6.1, places emphasis on the third and fourth bar of the phrase using both tempo and dynamics. In other instances, the shaping is less obvious, as in Figure A6.2, where the most characteristic elements are still the dip in tempo in the fourth bar, the accent, and the subsequent decrescendo.

Hess and Gieseking are less pronounced in their use of these ways of phrasing. Notice in Figure A6.5, displaying bars 8 to 15, how Gieseking shapes the A2 section without nearly as pronounced a dip in tempo in the middle, nor as nearly as evident a dynamic shape. In the A1 and A6 sections (which are exactly the same notes) there is a small swell in the third and fourth bars of each section. Hess varies her treatment: in A1, A3, and A5, there is some indication of the kind of phrasing that gives emphasis on the middle of the phrase, i.e. a raised dynamics level and a small dip in tempo. This is shown in Figure A6.7 with the example of bars 1 to 8. In other places, she frustrates expectation in this regard by having more uniform tempo and less phrased dynamics, as in Figures A6.8–9, depicting bars 25 to 32.

Another feature of the A sections meriting attention is the transition between the phrases. For some of the pianists, the boundaries are evident in the hierarchical average plots in Figure 6.8. Kempff and Fischer slow considerably in regular patterns that suggests this delineates phrase boundaries. Backhaus, for example, seems to be the most consistent: the tied note leading into the final bar before the beginning of an A phrase (i.e. bars 8, 16, 24, and 54) is always accented and followed by a decrescendo. Except in the case of the transition into A6, all transitions involve a temporal contraction of the final bar before the start of the next A phrase, followed by an expansion in the first bar of the new phrase. Some recurring events may be understood in terms of the exchange of material between the hands. In Fischer's performance all the A phrases in which the right hand plays the motif 1 begin under tempo, whereas this is not the case when the right hand is playing the semiquaver harmonic patterning (see Figure 6.12 below). Gieseking's marking of the phrase boundaries tends to be characterised by more modest changes in tempo, but involves dynamic shaping, as suggested by Figure A6.5 in bars 8 and 9, effecting a crescendo into A2. Cohen's behaviour at the boundaries of A sections places a greater emphasis on differentiation in terms of dynamics: the most consistent feature is the accent on the tied quaver leading into the final bar before the beginning of the next phrase. With the exception of the transition into A6, Kempff plays slower in the first bar of each phrase.

One form of computer-aided graphical representation that stands to generate insight is to overlay the same pianist's tempo values for the various A sections and see how the different lines compare to each other rather than to another pianist. Some appear in closely clustered lines, such as Hess's, suggesting a relatively strong self-consistency, as seen in Figure 6.9.

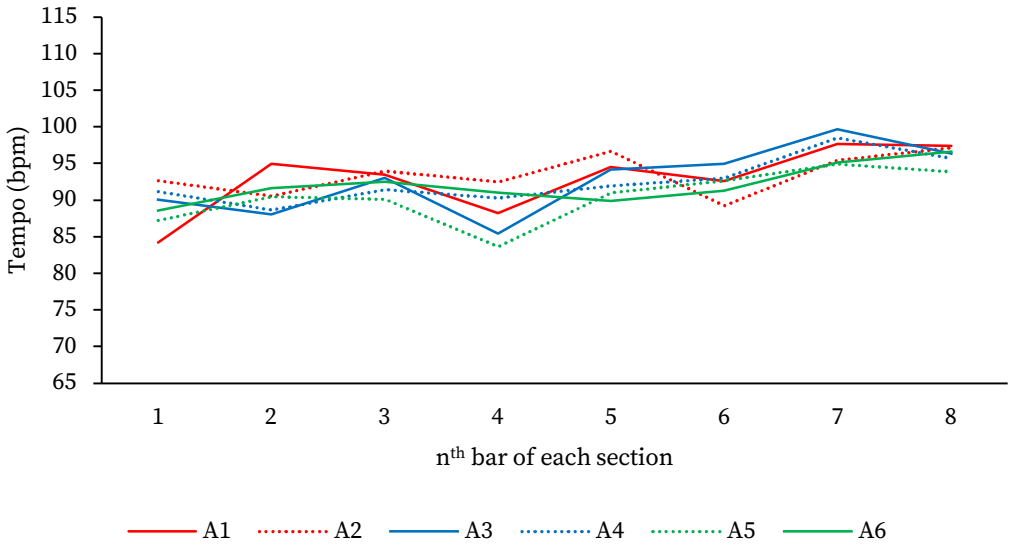


Figure 6.9. Tempo graph of the A sections in Hess's performance[28]

At the opposite end, performers such as Kempff display extreme variety in their treatment of tempo by section, as shown in Figure 6.10. This way of presenting the data informs us that something akin or related to 'phrase arching' (discussed above) is occurring in these recordings, but that a widespread phenomenon is a tendency to place a 'trough' in the

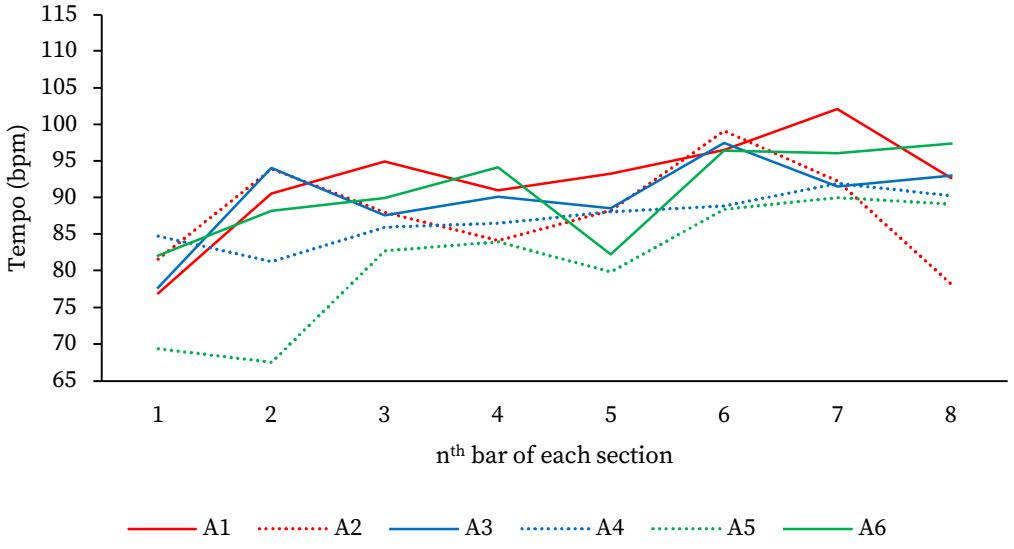


Figure 6.10. Tempo graph of the A sections in Kempff's performance

28. With the label 'nth bar of each section', '1' refers to bar 1 in the case of A1, bar 9 for A2, bar 17 for A3, bar 25 for A4, bar 47 for A5, and bar 55 for A6.

middle of phrases rather than at phrase boundaries. Kempff is perhaps the only player to show considerable slowing at the beginnings and ends of musical events. Note how the graph depicts as solid lines those A sections in which the right hand is playing the semiquavers, while the ones with left-hand semiquavers are portrayed as dotted lines. In other graphical representations – for example, a start-to-finish tempo plot – the fact that Cohen consistently plays slower when the left hand has the semiquavers might be obscured (see Figure 6.11). There may be many explanations for this, some prosaic – such as passagework being potentially more awkward to execute with the left hand, or piano actions being heavier in the lower register – but one could also imagine that Cohen effected this difference in tempo for variety, or because of the need for more time to hear semiquavers as melodic lower in the instrument's range. Either way, Figure 6.11 shows Cohen as less strictly committed to a single pulse, and likely willing to admit variety in her performance to take into account the timbral distinctions of the piano's registers or the listening experience.

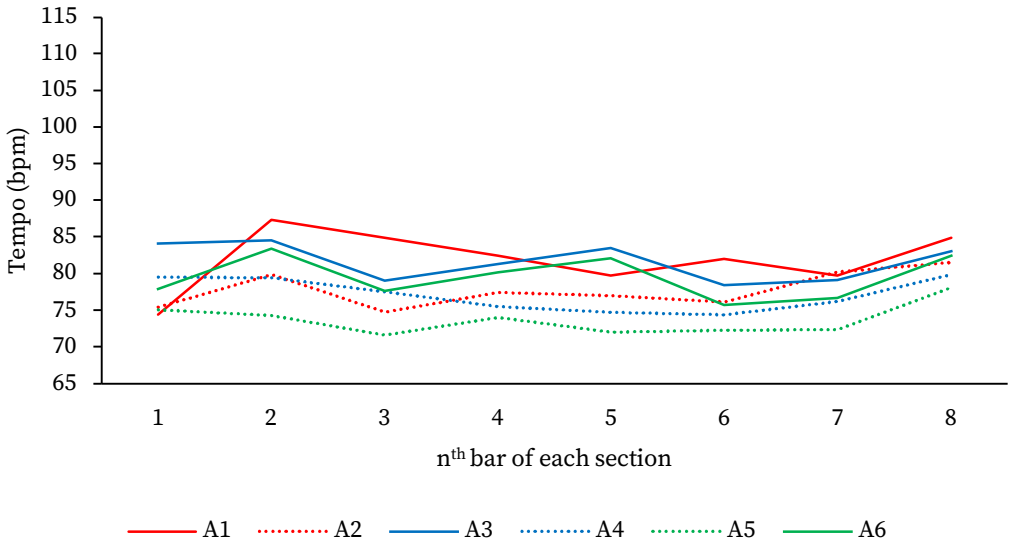


Figure 6.11. Tempo graph of the A sections in Cohen's performance

Other performers such as Fischer display considerable variety in the beginning of each section, and at the end, but seem to have a certain consistency in the 6th and 7th bars of each section where the phrase reaches a cadence (Figure 6.12).

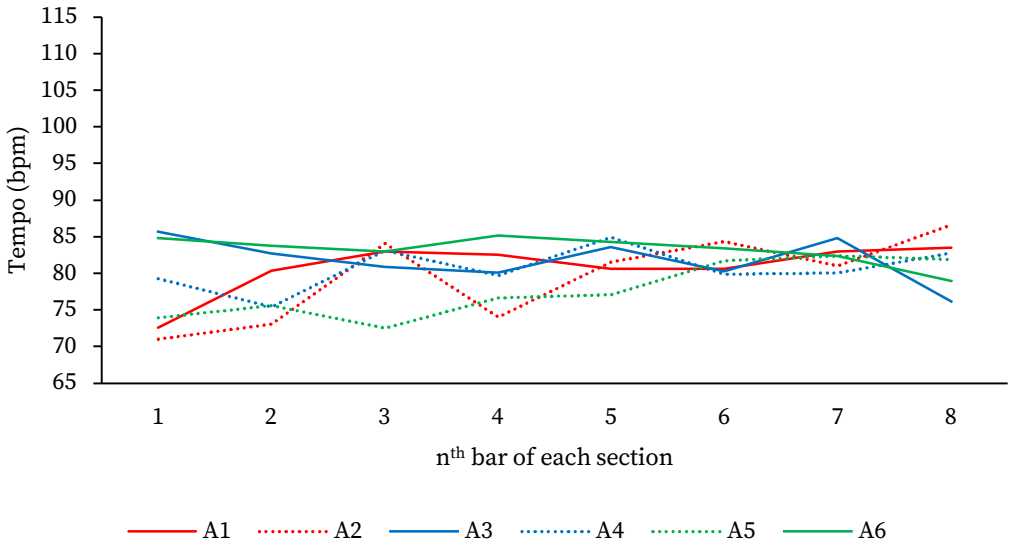


Figure 6.12. Tempo graph of the A sections in Fischer's performance

In Backhaus's plot (Figure 6.13), one sees the frequency with which the fourth and seventh bars are placed, or played at a lower tempo. It also shows how anomalous the A1 section is in Backhaus's performance, relative to the other A sections, which are closely clustered along the same general trajectory.

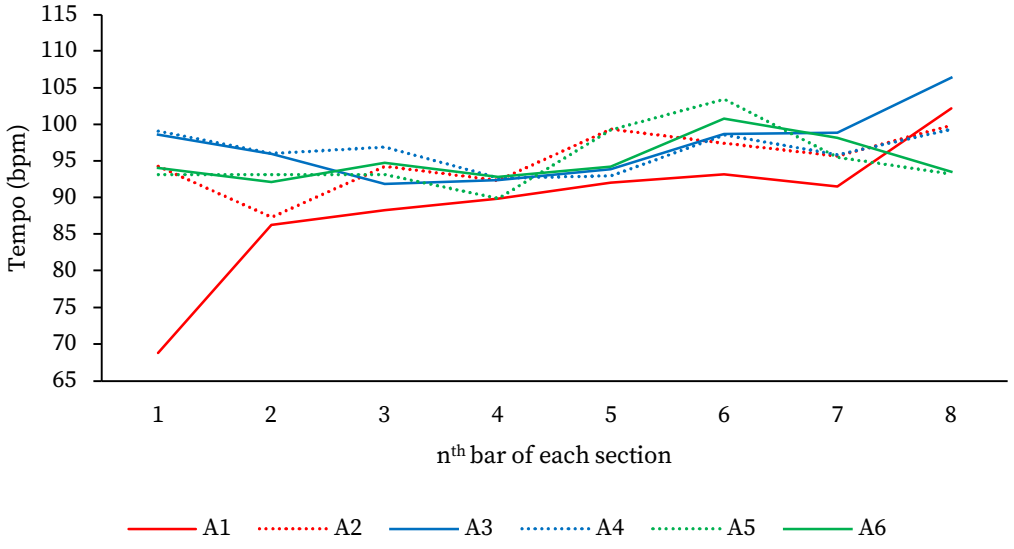


Figure 6.13. Tempo graph of the A sections in Backhaus's performance

Scharrer's (Figure 6.14) shows fewer characteristic or definitive features – as mentioned above, it is especially variegated, as is Kempff's – but a series of stretches in tempo is

visible in the middle of the phrase, although it varies between the third, fourth, and fifth bars of the section.

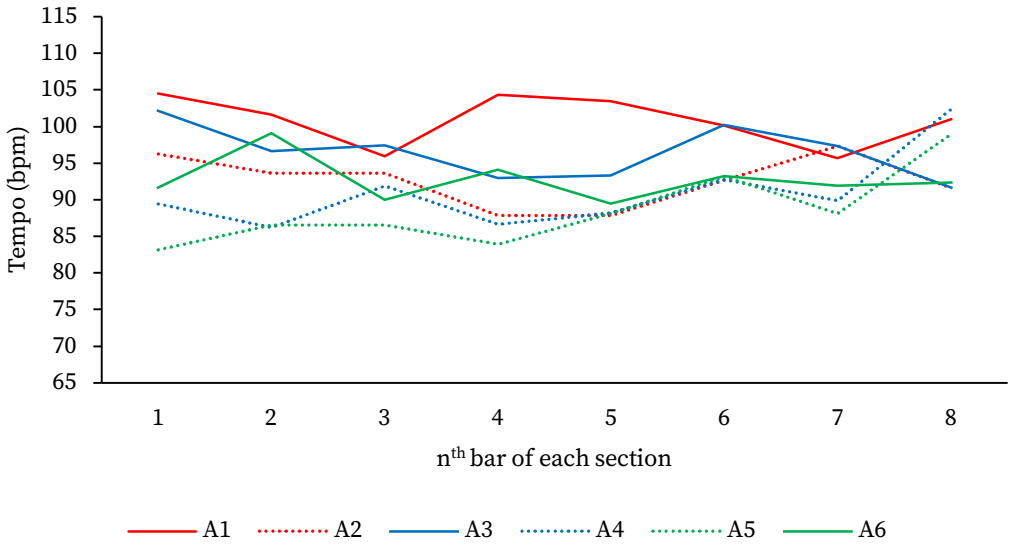


Figure 6.14. Tempo graph of the A sections in Scharrer's performance

Finally, in Figure 6.15, Gieseking's use of tempo in each of these A section is relatively self-consistent, although it is worth noting how the flat tempo shaping of A1 is similar to that of A6, its verbatim restatement, when superimposed over the more variegated curves of A3–5.

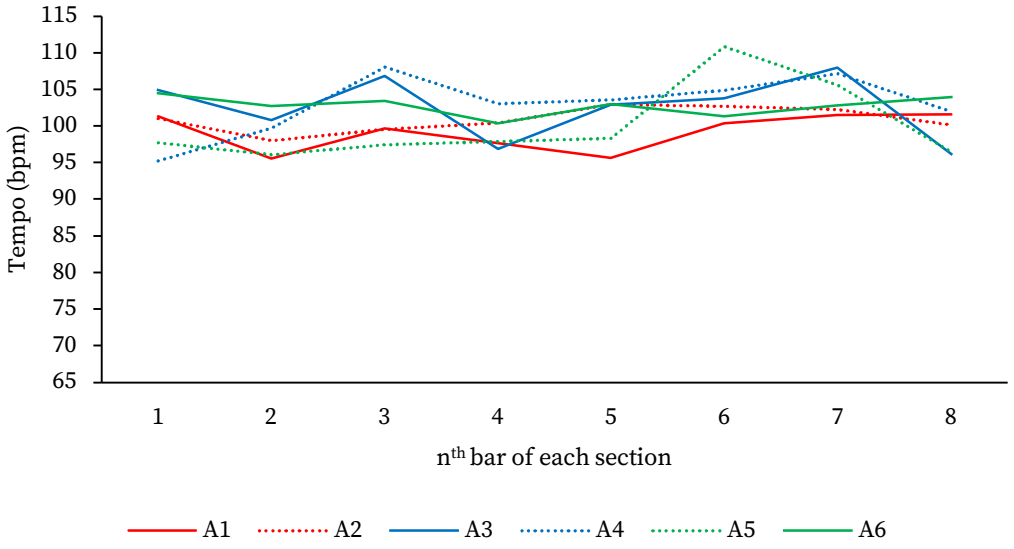


Figure 6.15. Tempo graph of the A sections in Gieseking's performance

Tools that display synchronically the variation in performance given to similar musical materials *within* a pianist's recording therefore show us something more than the score annotation alone, or the hierarchical average plots. The previous paragraphs have showed how general self-consistency (in the case of Hess) or selective self-consistency (in the case of Gieseking or Cohen) contrast with much freer performers, among which one would name Kempff and Scharrer.

B Section

In the B section, the alternation of melodic material between the hands and the pace of the modulation changes from eight-bar groups in the various A sections, to four-bar groups.

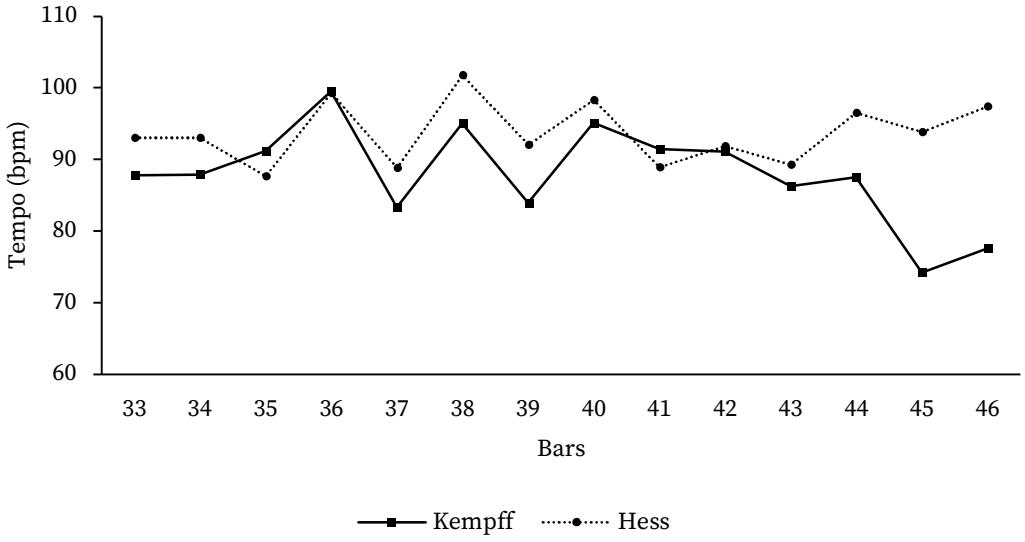


Figure 6.16. 'Sawtooth pattern' in tempo

A feature that is widely shared is the existence of a 'sawtooth' pattern, when examining the use of tempo in this section. This happens, in many cases, regardless of which hand is playing in semiquavers. It is exhibited most systematically in the cases of Hess and Kempff, where there is an alternation of contracted and expanded bars in two-bar patterns. The expanded bars are always the ones containing the octave jump in quavers, and the contracted bars are the ones where the quavers move in conjunct motion (the shape of this motif is notated in Example 6.1.c). Kempff uses the tendency to broaden at the octave jump to shape and pace his transition into A6: in bars 40–45, the bars of conjunct quavers are not contracted, but each bar with the octave jump slows down, so

this melodic feature structures the decrease in tempo in preparation for the return to A5 (see Figure 6.16).

Backhaus and Gieseking's recordings show similar patterning (Figure 6.17), but concentrated in the beginning and end of the passage, and involving a comparatively more uniform, or gradual, approach in the middle. Note how in bars 41 to 46, Gieseking stretches the resolution in conjunct motion rather than the octave jump motif, whereas Backhaus espouses the same alternation as in the beginning of the passage and as is seen with Hess and Kempff.

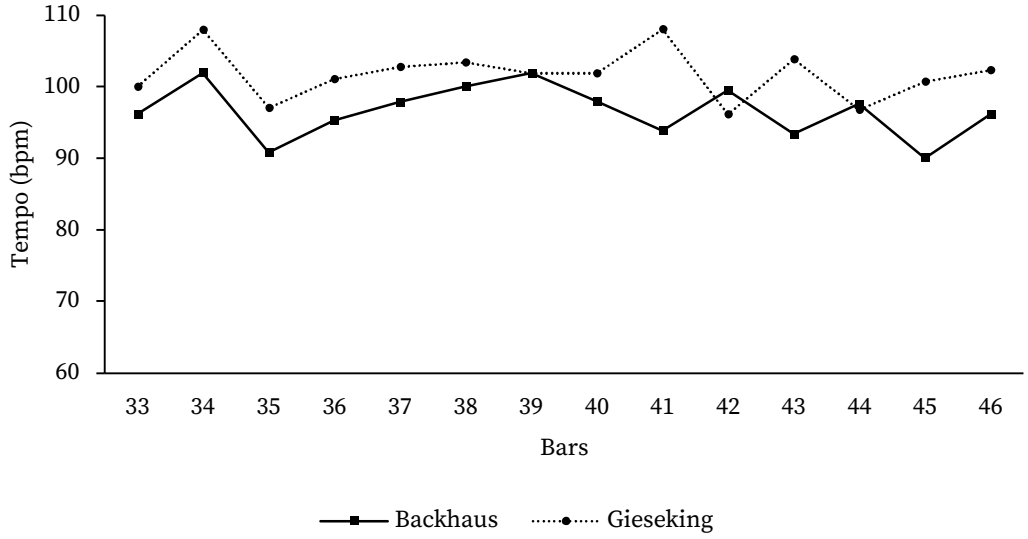


Figure 6.17. Selective use of the 'Sawtooth pattern' in tempo

Cohen and Fischer are less involved this way: there are dips in tempo at bars 33, 35, 43, 45, and to a lesser extent in bars 37 and 41 (Figure 6.18). Scharrer's approach is characterised by a great variety in both tempo and dynamics. Figure 6.19 shows the non-systematic treatment of the motivic material in terms of pacing, with peaks of tempo in bars 37 and 42. Figure A6.16, displaying bars 36 to 43, shows that Scharrer effects dynamics accents on the octave jump, but also makes sudden and significant decrescendos, such as in bar 36 or between bars 41 and 42. In this figure, there appears to be an inverse relationship between dynamics and tempo, with the 'peak' in tempo at bar 37 corresponding to such a gesture of decrescendo, and the 'trough' in tempo at bar 41 coinciding with a heightened dynamic level.

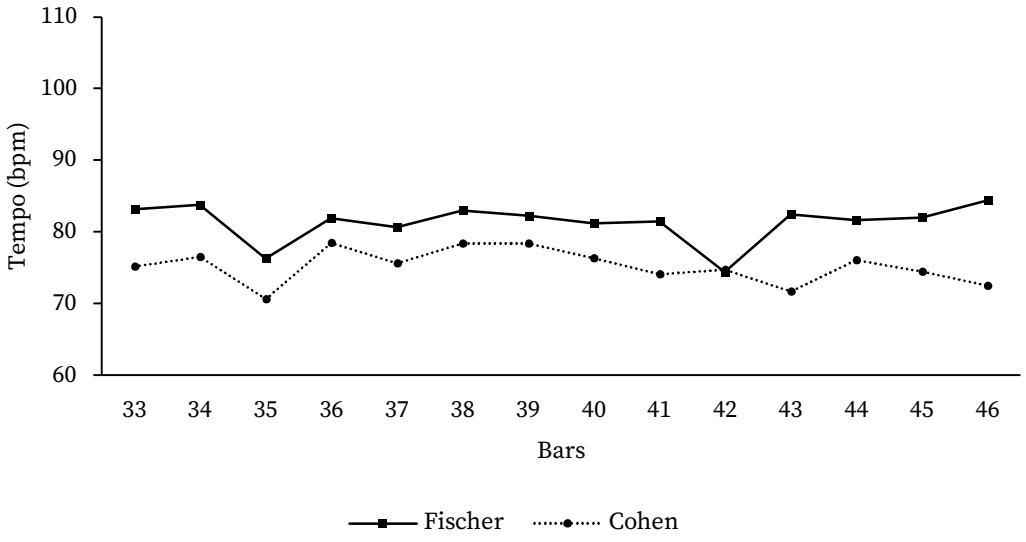


Figure 6.18. Tempo plot of bars 33–46

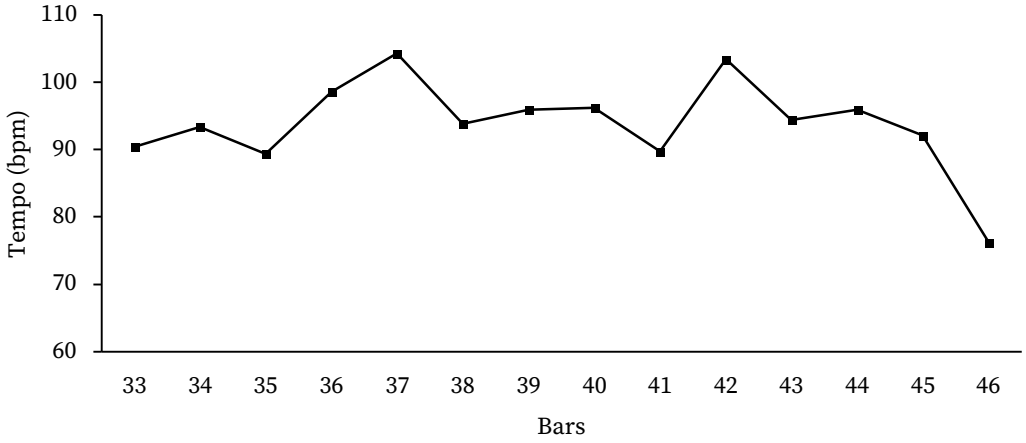


Figure 6.19. Tempo plot of bars 33–46 (Scharrer)

C Section

In the two sections marked C, there is the possibility of elucidating questions of musical pacing using observations on two sections which implicitly but very clearly call for some sort of build-up of tension. How this is achieved is of interest, as are the choices performers make with regard to the restatement.

Once again it is useful to examine how this section is entered. Some of the performers differentiate between how the first and the second versions of the material are

approached. Kempff, Backhaus, Hess, and Scharrer all play bar 63 more slowly and accelerate afterwards. In Kempff's case, a hold up at bar 63 coincides with a reduction in dynamic level. He accents the downbeat of bar 64 with the return to tempo. Fischer's performance of C1 begins with the élan of the previous bars and holds back only at bar 64. In Bar 87, however, Fischer places the first bar of the passage rather than the second. Backhaus holds up at bar 63, but not at bar 87 when the material returns (he does, however, prepare bar 86). Cohen remains relatively flat in terms of tempo at the return of C2 but marks the distinction with an accent on the downbeat of bar 87. Hess begins with a hold-up and goes straight into the saw-tooth pattern, but she plays C2 relatively flat in terms of tempo. In Scharrer's case, both passages begin with an expansion in tempo in the first bar.

Turning to the crescendo, there are some pianists who treat dynamics and tempo together, while others decouple the two variables. Overall, the performers increase the dynamic level earlier in the second statement of the C material, as it is shorter by two bars. Cohen, Backhaus, and Fischer all accent downbeats and effect a consistent increase in each of these peaks from bar 68 to 75. This crescendo can have different shapes: Fischer keeps the tempo relatively flat in C1, and steadily increases it in C2.

Other performers involve a similar combination of dynamics and tempo to that seen in the B section. Hess is interestingly systematic in this regard. She starts C1 under tempo with an accent, and then the following bar is contracted, with the downbeat given a more modest accent. This pattern of pairings in terms of dynamic and tempo, alternating expanded accented bars with shorter, less accented bars, continues until bar 71 in Hess's performance. Interesting also is the moment she chooses to break this pattern. In bars 73 and 74, where one might have expected another pairing, the tempo is relatively flat, and the two downbeats are both given strong accents, leading into the D section. This suggests a coordination of tempo and dynamics in Hess's case which may not necessarily be deliberate, but contributes, consciously or not, to the arrival point at the end of this crescendo (see Figures A6.19–20). In C2, she shapes dynamics this way, but the tempo curve is considerably flattened out. Scharrer's shaping forgoes pairings in terms of tempo or dynamics: she effects a steady crescendo through the sections and the evolution of her tempo in bars 87–96 shows a larger-scale shaping, with four-bar shapes in bars 87–90 and 91–94 over a gradual crescendo. Within this gradual crescendo, however, is a variety of accentuation. This is shown in Figure A6.18.

Transitions

Shifting the focus away from local-level transitions between phrase-level events, attention should be devoted separately to more sectional ones, especially insofar as they denote 'structural' aspects of the performance.

Cohen appears to soften the distinctions between events as a general rule. She does this through her shaping of dynamics at bars 29 to 35, where she effects one crescendo gesture overlapping the end of A4 and the beginning of B (Figure A6.21). This occurs as well at the return of the A section material at bar 47, as will be discussed below in greater detail. In both cases, this has the effect of softening the discontinuity between the two. As shown in Figure A6.22, the level of dynamics does not change considerably at the juncture of D and C2, except for an accent and a small dip in tempo.

Scharrer transitions into C1 by effecting a gradual decrescendo in A6 with a stable tempo, followed by a marked increase in both dynamic level and tempo from bar 63. This creates a strong perceptual contrast through the use of both dynamics and tempo (Figure A6.17 displaying bars 60 to 67). Backhaus highlights certain sectional boundaries such as the arrival of C2 at bar 87 with a combination of tempo and dynamics, as shown in Figure A6.15 (bars 82–9). Kempff gives emphasis to the arrival in C2 with lower dynamics and tempo (Figure A6.23).

One important transition should interest us. As seen many times already, the A section material reappears twice after the B section has been heard. This is approximately the mid-point of the movement. A listener or performer feels the strong temptation to identify this thematic return as significant. However, the tonal schema and distribution of the music between the hands leaves open two possibilities about where the return really is. An obvious answer would be to place the return at bar 47, when the 'tune' from the beginning is heard again, but here it is in F-sharp major and Motif 1 is in the right hand. At bars 55–61, however, one hears the phrase *exactly* as it was stated in bars 1–7. The key of C-sharp major is finally reached after the extensive modulations of bars 9 to 54. It also separates the first 54 bars of the piece, which modulate, from the final 50 bars, which are all in the key of C-sharp (bars 81–86 visit the key of C-sharp minor, but there is no change of tonic). Performers naturally have a choice about which one to emphasise and how to emphasise it. Examining the putative recapitulation therefore brings empirical evidence to bear on many of the questions posed earlier in this chapter. The choice (a) of where to place the

return, whether in bar 47 or 55, and (b) of how this choice is manifested in specific performance parameters allow us to reach an informed interpretation on the pianists' concern for 'structure' as opposed to 'surface-level' material, as well as the relative importance of these parameters as they were deployed in Bach pianism.

The pianists who emphasise the return of the melodic material at bar 47 are Kempff, Scharrer, and Fischer. Fischer effects a marked decrease in tempo at the beginning of A5 and remains below tempo for the beginning of the phrase (Figure A6.32). In A6, the dynamics and tempo are comparatively flat, which would suggest that A5 is the more distinctive break of gauge in this part of Fischer's performance. Scharrer expands bar 46, with a gradual return to tempo in succeeding bars (Figure A6.25). For Kempff this takes the form of a significant reduction in both dynamic level and tempo in the bars leading to bar 47, as shown in Figure A6.29. In Backhaus's case, this is effected by the differentiation between the 'sawtooth pattern' of the B section (see bars 40 to 47 in Figure 6.17) and the differently shaped tempo of A5 (see Figure 6.13; see also Figure A6.24).

Cohen is ambiguous: the transition into A5 merges the dynamics, even though, as seen in Figure A6.30, there is a small reduction of tempo in bar 46. The decrescendo into A6, coupled with the increase in tempo (Figure A6.31), give this passage novelty against the background of what came before, so we may suggest that Cohen placed the 'return' at bar 55 using increased tempo and lowered dynamics.

The pianists who emphasise the return of the home key and the verbatim restatement of the opening are Hess and Gieseking. For Gieseking, this takes the form of a decrescendo and small inflection of tempo in bar 54 (Figure A6.27). In Gieseking's case, the transition into A5 is still marked by an accent on the downbeat of bar 47 (Figure A6.26).

Hess's case is difficult to discern conclusively, but my feeling is that she places the return at bar 55 using a combination of dynamics and small local-level tempo variation. I have had to display in Figure A6.28 more than can be represented alongside the score, but this figure is informative for two reasons. Bar 47 finds itself at the peak of a crescendo that begins in bar 42, and the tempo in A5 continues to be variegated according to the same small, local ebbs and flows – the 'sawtooth patterns' seen above. See for example, the combination of dynamic as well as temporal accent on bars 47 and 50. The arrival at bar 55 is differentiated from the previous passage by a much lower dynamic level, which is

similar to that of the beginning of the movement. Finally, the fluctuations of tempo are narrower and more gradual after bar 56.

There need not be a contradiction between the open-ended, descriptive agenda set out in this analysis and the possibility of drawing conclusions. In this particular instance – the transition into bars 47 or 55 – one may propose evidence-based possibilities about what is actually happening. Taking Kempff as the most prototypically romantic of the group, there is indeed a decrease in volume level as well as tempo, and it is effected in a spot where melodic or thematic considerations overtake structural ones such as tonal schema. However, Backhaus chooses the same place to have a return, but the method for carrying out this (apparent) choice is less obvious. In the graphical representations of tempo in the B section (Figure 6.16), the 'sawtooth patterns' of Kempff and Hess are the most similar despite the two having very different overall approaches. It should appear that these pianists all, to some degree, borrowed from a repertoire of expressive strategies and recombined them in ways that made their performances unique. While some approaches can be broadly described as 'romantic' or 'modernist', there is a need to describe particular permutations of expressive devices that would disclose clearer insight. The treatment of this transition is one of many elements that prompt one to seek a more fine-grained set of categories than simply 'romantic' or 'modernist'.

Describing Bach Pianism: A Three-Dimensional Model

The evidence so far gathered may seem somewhat puzzling. Performers who, by qualitative listening, seem 'modernist' in their performance approach ultimately display traits that subvert this description – see, for example, Hess's use of small-scale patterning of tempo to create two-bar groups on a local level. Others who were identified as more 'romantic' or 'flexible' in inclination, such as Cohen, exhibit an concern of large-scale shape through their organising of dynamics. It is potentially useful to view this demonstration as indicative of the variety of expressive traits that had common currency in this time. Stepping back from this evidence, one viable way to prise apart some of these sound documents in such a way that they may be organised into typologies comes both from the discourses seen in Chapter 5 and from these Sonic Visualiser insights.

The idea of modelling the tendencies and habits of individual performers is explored by Danny Quan Zhou and Dorottya Fabian, and I will conclude this chapter by applying parts of their methodology to a model of my own for describing Bach pianism.

Zhou and Fabian set out to formulate a 'model for understanding differences among performers and differences among performances.'[29] This is undertaken with reference to tempo, which they assert 'is the most readily and reliably measurable parameter that remains faithful in recorded performance to the original real-time performance'[30] as well as an important parameter for expressivity in performance, as has been seen above. The issue of tempo is broken down into constituent parts, namely basic tempo choice, global tempo variation, and local tempo variation.[31] In each of these categories, a continuum is proposed between two possibilities. Basic tempo refers to the choices of tempo, presumably the performer's own interpretative leap from a notated or impressionistic tempo marking to a value in beats per minute. Global tempo variation, in this article, refers to the treatment of phrase- or section-level events. It is concerned either with 'structural rallentando' – i.e. phrase arching – to reinforce and communicate phrase and sectional boundaries, or with sectional flexibility, that is to say, the tendency to produce contrast between sections through different blocks of tempo. Finally, they categorise local tempo variation according to two possibilities: either there is variation for melodic or harmonic interest, or a performer effects local-level tempo variation for the purpose of emphasising a metrical or agogic feature.

Parts of this model prove to be of use for the purpose of describing Bach pianism in general and these seven performances of the Prelude in C-sharp major in particular. The category of local-level tempo variations merits more detailed description. Zhou and Fabian observe that:

> The melodic-harmonic approach involves the accentuation of pitch- and/or harmony related events. These types of accents have been evidenced in a number of empirical studies of performance. According to Leech-Wilkinson, Alfred Cortot's rubato is melodically driven, mainly through emphasizing melodic peaks – lengthening the top melodic notes – and varying tempo according to melodic contour… In both solo instrumental and orchestral music there are performers who tend to emphasize unexpected melodic-harmonic elements by shortening or lengthening the time value of a note or a group of notes or by matching tempo variation to melodic contour. We label this type of local tempo variation the melodic-harmonic approach.[32]

29. Zhou & Fabian 2019: 2.
30. Ibid.: 2.
31. Ibid.: 10.
32. Ibid.: 8.

On the other hand, metrically driven tempo variation 'tends to involve the elongation of metrically important moments, such as the first beat of the bar'.[33] The differentiation between these metrical and melodic-harmonic local fluctuations in tempo is highly relevant to the features observed in the course of this chapter.

One might summarise the conclusions provided by record criticism in Chapter 5 using a linear model resembling that in Figure 6.20. Such a model, taken at face value, continues to present problems and pitfalls. Some of these issues have been explored in the detailed analyses in this chapter. Even if it were possible to give a relative weighting to the different factors such as tempo flexibility, use of dynamics in phrasing, articulation, and place all these seven pianists on a continuum of 'expressive' and 'restrained' as alluded to in Chapter 5, much nuance would be lost in doing so.

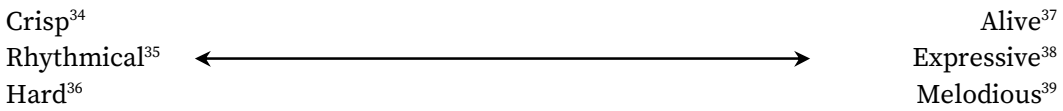


Figure 6.20. Expressive–Restrained model relying on terminology used in record criticism as seen in Chapter 5

Based on the observations in this chapter – having discovered inductively some of the salient features that vary between performers and having met with some of the shortcomings of relying exclusively either on aesthetic categories or on data – I propose the model in Figure 6.21 as a useful heuristic to describe Bach pianism. It does not involve a one-to-one mapping between the discourse encountered elsewhere and the computer-aided recording analysis, but provides more fine-grained observations at the confluence of these two forms of knowledge.

The y axis shows the distinction between metrical and melodic/harmonic uses of tempo variation as outlined by Zhou and Fabian. In the other two axes, I have decided that dynamics and articulation should, however broadly or qualitatively conceived,

33. Ibid.: 8.
34. *The Musical Times*, May 1925: 429.
35. Ibid.
36. *The Sackbut*, June 1930: 308.
37. *The Gramophone*, March 1929: 445.
38. Ibid.
39. *The New York Times*, 7 December 1930: 134.

complement the approach. On the x axis, the criterion chosen to distinguish pianists involves the extent to which dynamics are variegated. It is related to the criteria for making the metrical/melodic distinction in the tempo axis. On one side will be pianists who have a more reserved fluctuation and use dynamics in the context of accents, while on the other appear pianists who show more continuous variety in dynamics at phrase level. Finally, the z axis determines to what extent the piano's affordances are used to effect a change in sonority. This is closely related to articulation: to name extremes for the sake of example, on one end, belong pianists who mainly effect variation with finger control, while on the other go pianists who vary the complete sound of the instrument with shading of pedal.

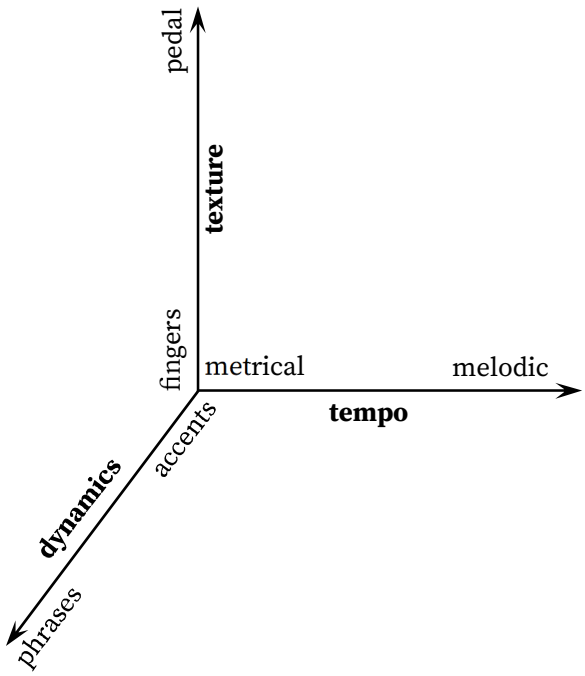


Figure 6.21. Three-Dimensional Model for describing Bach pianism

It is possible on the basis of what has been seen in this chapter, to place some of the performers on such a field. The 'romantic' or 'expressive' group identified by the critics in Chapter 5 would tend to congregate on the outer corner of the figure, where Kempff appears on Figure 6.22. Kempff's placement should not trouble us too much: he has a strongly variegated use of tempo that shows every appearance of being motivated by melodic and harmonic events; his use of dynamics is continuously phrased rather than expressive of sectional contrasts or dynamic accents; his use of texture, finally, draws on the piano's resources through pedalling. This explains Kempff's place in Figure 6.22. Also

in the same figure, Gieseking shows a metrical rather than melodic use of tempo fluctuation, a use of dynamics that delineates sectional contrasts and accents, and a much more 'finger articulated' use of texture.

Kempff and Gieseking might be easily categorised by the linear model in Figure 6.20, but certain performers might be better described in finer detail using a grouping according to dynamics, tempo, and articulation. Bach pianism has been so seldom investigated in this way, and I propose that such a combination of qualitative and quantitative assessments, approaching these recordings, allows one to delve deeper into specific performance parameters; this can inform and ground in empirical observation the listener's own appreciation about how discursive descriptions relate to performances.

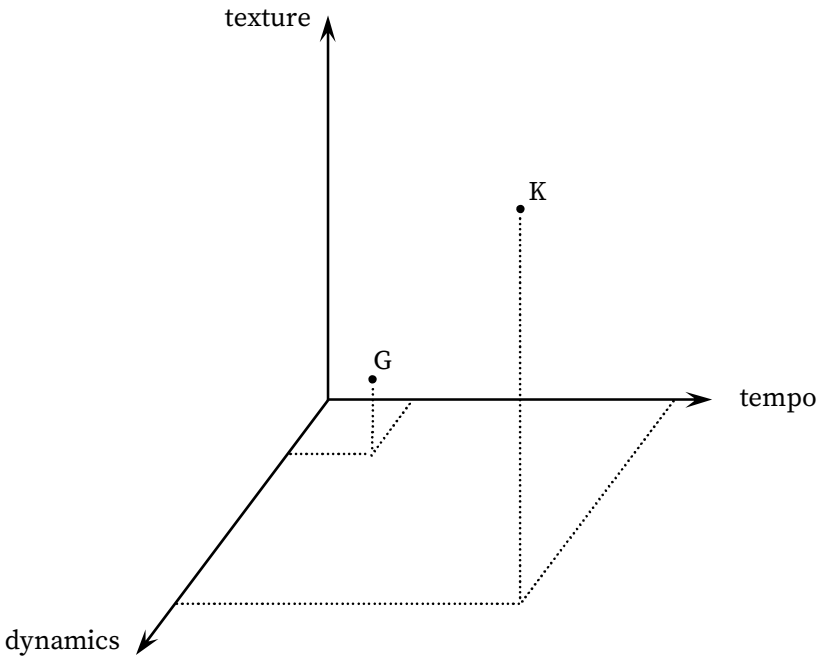


Figure 6.22. Kempff and Gieseking as archetypal 'romantic' and 'modernist' performers on the model

Scharrer's ambiguities are another conceptual challenge which this model meets – not by neutralising them, but by accounting for their specificity: her dynamics are very phrased, and her shaping of tempo also seems to derive from melodic features, but her performance differs markedly from those of Cohen or Fischer because her use of texture is articulated at the level of the fingers more so than through the use of pedal, which place her as she is shown in Figure 6.23. Backhaus may conceivably be placed in a similar 'region' to Scharrer. Like her, he challenges hard and fast distinctions of 'romantic' and

'modernist', combining in a highly idiosyncratic manner a light, finger articulation with a richly variegated use of tempo and dynamics.

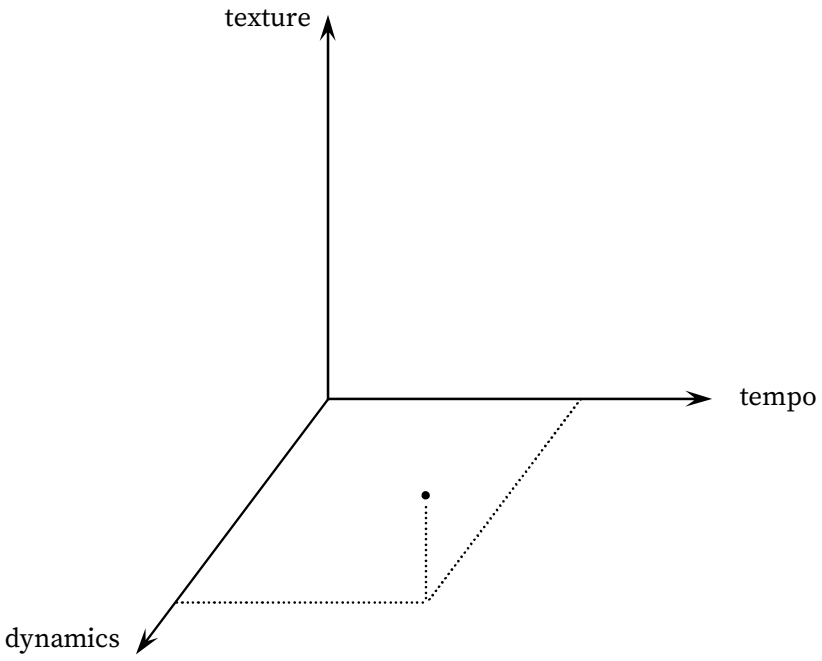


Figure 6.23. Region on the model conceivably inhabited by Scharrer and Backhaus

Cohen, in this particular performance, displays a moderate flexibility in her treatment of tempo while being highly 'pianistic' in her use of texture and continuously variegated in her use of dynamics. As is seen in Chapter 7, this placement can be revised on the basis of new evidence. Fischer gives the Prelude a very similar treatment, although, like Cohen, more data from more performances would serve to revise and refine this assessment. They are both placed as in Figure 6.24.

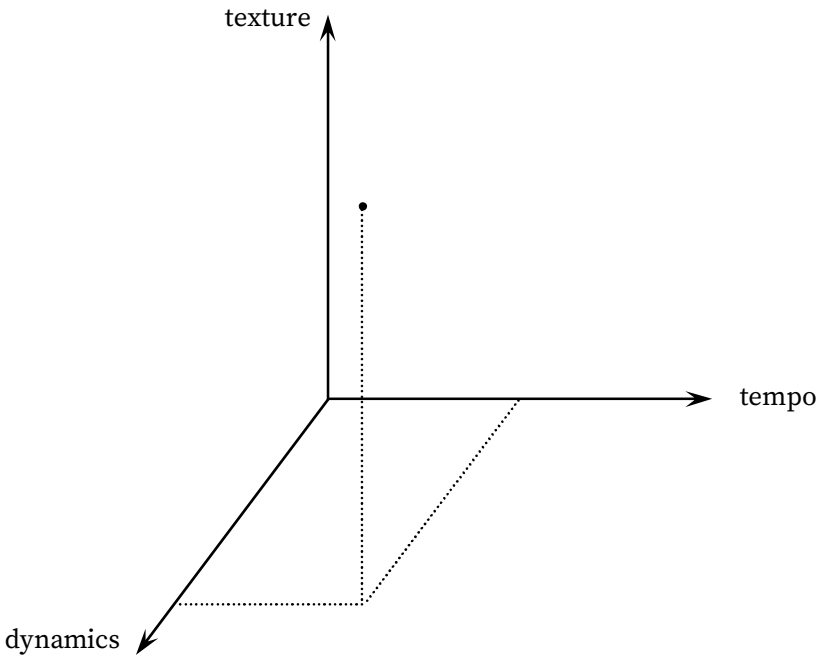


Figure 6.24. Cohen and Fischer on the model

Hess has a peculiar approach, when all the elements are accounted for. As has been seen above with the case of the 'sawtooth' patterns and the otherwise very narrow fluctuations in tempo, her use of tempo is a prototypical example of the 'metrical' sort. Her changes in dynamics are more involved in accentuation rather than gradual phrasing. Her use of short dabs of pedal to vary texture in the C1 section, along with her pianistic contrasts of 'wet' and 'dry' sound in this prelude, place her treatment of texture closer to the top of the vertical axis. This is shown in Figure 6.25.

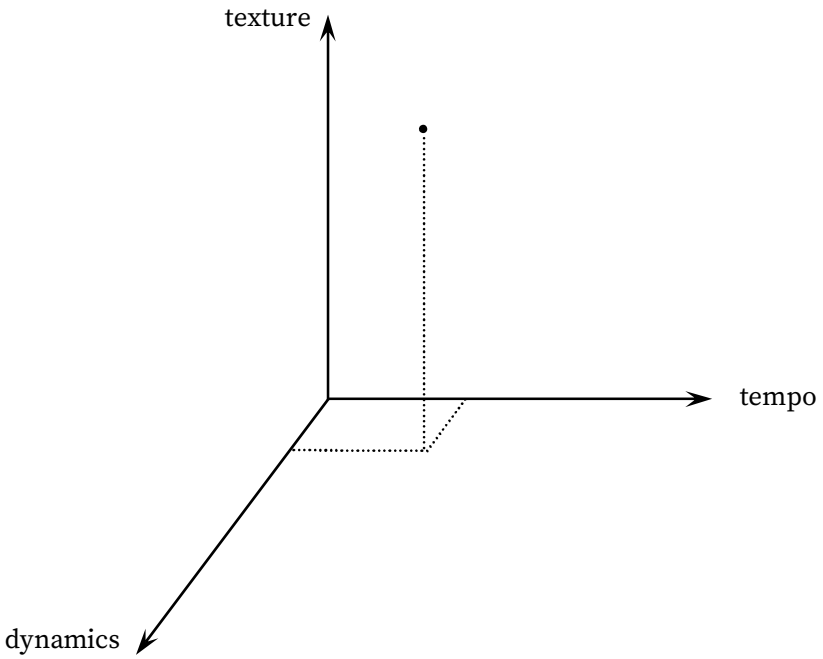


Figure 6.25. Hess on the model

With this three-dimensional thinking in mind, one can venture reasonable connections between descriptions that used instrumental monikers such as 'organistic' or 'harpsichordistic' and traits of interwar recordings. This will be developed further in Chapter 7. But in this group of performances, one cannot help but connect the finger articulation of Scharrer to the remarks about her in Chapter 5: even though she is comparatively free with dynamics and tempo, her playing is described as 'neat' and 'brilliant' and 'particularly suited to harpsichord music'.[40]

40. *The British Musician and Musical News,* November 1926: 100. *The Gramophone,* October 1926: 199; *The Musical Times,* November 1926: 1016. See Chapter 5, notes 78–80.

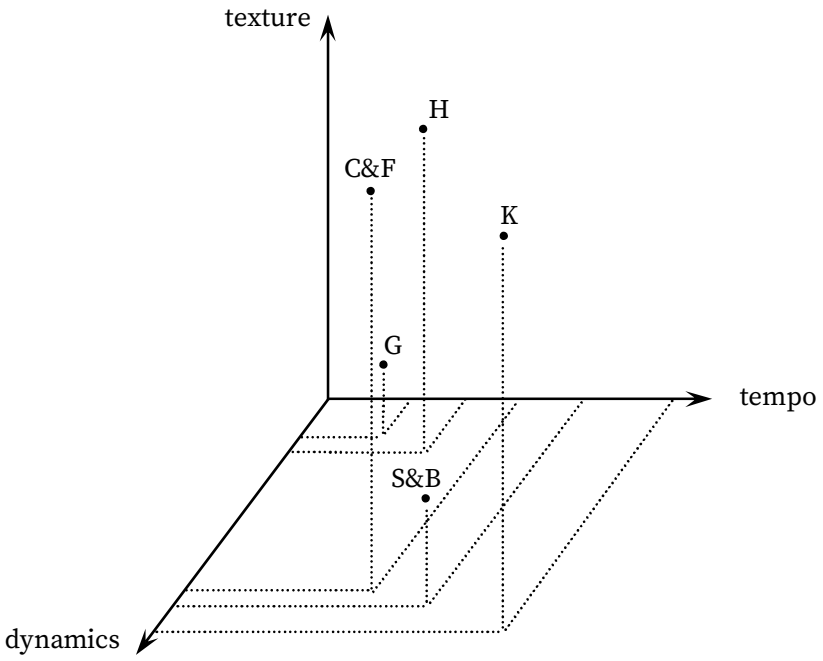


Figure 6.26. All pianists juxtaposed on the model

Finally, Figure 6.26 gives a general view of how each pianist relates to the others in the 'three-dimensional space' of the model for Bach pianism. This shows us that there is more variation of tempo and dynamics, but that a majority of these pianists are still using pedal and what could be termed 'pianistic devices' to vary texture than those who articulate with fingers. More importantly, this way of describing the performances allows one to escape the impasse of 'romantic' and 'modernist' categories where, as has been seen, a single pianist can exhibit highly contradictory traits.

Attention should be drawn to the fact that the present chapter has taken a round trip: from score annotation and phenomenological appreciation, through quantitative analysis, to the final destination, which is an avowedly subjective description of these documents – there can be no listening if there is no listener – enriched and informed by the fine-grained Sonic Visualiser work. This is why the exercise of placing these seven pianists on the model is inevitably reliant on a personal, bird's-eye-view appreciation of the pianist's general approach. It could not have been developed, though, without the empirical observations that were presented in this chapter. Even in a relatively flexible and open-ended model, pianists are seldom entirely one thing or the other: the representation of three-dimensional space merely gestures as cogently and concretely as possible to a general characterisation. I feel I should conclude the round-trip by listening

to the seven recordings once more with hindsight. They have more in common than this chapter may have suggested in the process of differentiating and analysing them. Still, the work undertaken here allows us to clamber out of a strange impasse when examining Bach recordings: with the exception of certain stereotyped specimens – in this case, Kempff the romantic and Gieseking the modernist – one is faced with syncretic, mixed approaches that one struggles to describe according to the models we have. Though the differences explored may be subtle, they are musically meaningful and the descriptive model of Bach pianism I have proposed aims to account for them.

7. Three British Bach Pianists on Record
Samuel, Cohen, and Howard-Jones

This chapter is devoted to a detailed discussion of performance approaches adopted by three British pianists who were celebrated as Bach performers in the early years of commercial recording. Chapter 6 compared many different performances of a single movement; this exploration served the purpose of discussing general features of Bach pianism, evaluating the shortcomings of existing paradigms for describing performances of this particular repertoire, and proposing a model that accounts for Bach pianism without necessarily relying on an exclusively comparative approach. The following investigations differ from those in Chapter 6 because they aim to account for performers' individual approaches and the variety that exists *within* their practice. While this shifts the emphasis towards describing the habits of individual performers, this account continues to allude, where necessary or justified, to points of comparison. These are not limited to other recordings – be they in the same performer's catalogue or those of other performers – and will include practical application of the three-dimensional model described in Chapter 6.

The observations are initially carried out in a comparatively free manner, encompassing salient variables and reflecting on their significance to the general questions of Bach pianism as they have already emerged. These include: (a) With what means, and to what extent, did pianists perform or create expressivity in the Bach keyboard works? (b) What commonalities and differences exist between them? (c) What do these features do to situate these performers in a broader context of style? Each pianist is initially considered separately. Then, an exploration of differences and commonalities is undertaken, in which select issues such as contrapuntal playing are discussed. Finally, the chapter closes with a reflection on the significance of the findings.

Discographic note

Where and how these recordings were made is of interest, even in an analytical exercise carried out on recent CD reissues. A few factors that shape the listening experience merit mention. Qualitative judgements on ineffable categories such as pianistic tone – even

more practical subcategories such as pedalling and articulation – require one to listen 'through' or 'around' the unique sonic perspective resulting from microphone placement, the acoustical properties of the space, the frequency response, the instrument used in the recording session, and many more variables. Albin Zak notes:

> The tasks performed by engineers, while practical, have an aesthetic dimension as well which amounts to an expressive voice in the sound-recording project… The voices of recording engineers, always present though historically 'silent', have long influenced the ways in which we perceive musical sound. Indeed, their accumulated work has shaped essential contours of our recorded musical landscape. Sound recordings are renderings of sound events and, like any rendering, they embody the attitudes, skills, habits and aesthetic stances of those who make them.[1]

This is true even (especially) in the case of early recordings. The many shortcomings and disadvantages of the acoustical recording process (as seen in Chapter 5) are enough to make one cautious in trying to gauge what relationship these performances – recorded in circumstances that were in many ways alien to the performers – bear to what might have been played in a concert hall (let alone the relationship between the original recordings and the remastered versions thereof). Even the advent of electrical recording brought its own issues. Whereas American documents from this era have a precise, 'boxy' quality from closely placed microphones, British recording engineers demonstrated the capabilities of the Western-Electric recording process by preferring spacious-sounding recordings that had a richer room ambiance.[2] As a result, it is often difficult to ascertain exactly how pianists are pedalling, even though assessing the broad outlines of pianists' approaches is by no means impossible. This is true of all the electrically recorded materials discussed here, hindering attempts to demonstrate empirically elements such as pedalling, articulation and indeed the many finely calibrated nuances of note length or separation. I provide this information because it is important to bear in mind that these recordings do not transparently show us a performance. Remastering involves the same inherently interventionist process of 'rendering' alluded to above by Zak.[3] Where there is a choice of reissue, I have preferred those involving a relatively conservative approach to

1. Zak 2009: 63.
2. See Beardsley & Leech-Wilkinson 2009.
3. Some of the 78rpm shellac records discussed in this chapter are available for purchase on online auction sites. I have been tempted to acquire one, or examine a copy directly in an archive, but even playing the original record cannot hope to give an unmediated experience of the 'original': the shellac might be worn, new equipment might subtly differ from the gramophones of the time, and of course, our listening is not the same either.

noise reduction, as surface noise is most often eliminated at the expense of higher frequencies and overtones.

The electrical recordings of Cohen, Howard-Jones, and Samuel all have significant amounts of 'room noise', but from which rooms, exactly? Of the three spaces that were used for electrical recordings discussed in this chapter,[4] only one survived the Second World War. Cohen recorded her instalment of Columbia's *Well-Tempered Clavier* in the Portman Rooms. According to the 'Survey of London' blog, this building on the west side of Baker Street (between Dorset and Blandford Streets) had seen many uses in the previous decades, including those of art gallery and ballroom, and most notably as the location of Madame Tussaud's waxwork exhibit.[5] The rooms were bombed beyond repair in December 1940. In keeping with the near entirety of pre-1932 electrical records made by solo pianists for His Master's Voice, it is most likely that Samuel's recordings of the English Suite (1926), the first Partita (1925–6), the Preludes and Fugues in C major and C minor from Book I (1926), and G major from Book II (1927) were made in Queen's Small Hall, which was also destroyed in the Second World War. He recorded the second Partita in 1930 for Columbia, but it is not clear what the venue was. The Methodist Central Hall in Westminster was used by Columbia for several contemporaneous recordings, and indeed, it was where Howard-Jones recorded his contribution to the Columbia *Well-Tempered Clavier*. All of these spaces were comparatively large, compared to the old studios in Hayes or the small Studio 3 in Abbey Road, that would later set the standard for classical records of the late 78rpm era. But in the very early days of electrical recording, it seems that engineers tended to capture more room resonance, making the results reverberant and almost muddy in places.

This sum of recordings, encompassing a total of eighteen Preludes and Fugues from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* and three of the suites, attests to a significant widening of the Bach keyboard works available on record in the electrical era. In the rest of this chapter I therefore interrogate this body of evidence with a view to describing performance style and approach.

4. Two sides by Harold Samuel, the Gavotte and Musette from the English Suite in A minor BWV 807, and the Prelude and Fugue in B-flat major from the first book of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, were made acoustically at Hayes.

5. https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/survey-of-london/tag/portman-rooms/ (accessed 1 February 2020).

Harriet Cohen

Many accounts of Cohen's Bach playing that were encountered in Chapter 5 variously described her playing as expressive, romantic or free – both as praise from Compton McKenzie and as a reproach from Rutland Boughton.[6] Here I aim to describe in more finely grained detail what Cohen's Bach pianism entailed with reference to her recording. Salient features include melodically involved phrasing, i.e. a sense of vocality in performance that will be further conceptualised below (and which is of interest in the discussion of vocal and instrumental metaphors at the close of this chapter), use of the piano's expressive possibilities in terms of dynamics and pedalling, and the supposed sentimentality of her performances. All of the examples discussed below come from her 1929 recording for Columbia Records of the first nine Preludes and Fugues from the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, Book I.

Melodically involved phrasing

Compton Pakenham of the *New York Times* opined that 'Miss Cohen brings out the melodious, romantic nature of her material without in any way sacrificing what may be considered in some quarters as the essential features of the contract.'[7] Expanding on his characterisation of Cohen as 'romantic', Rutland Boughton added that 'the pianist's love of the very notes of the piece results in the loss of the piece itself; we see the trees indeed, but we are lost in them, and never get a glimpse of the forest as a whole.'[8] This is suggestive of an approach to melody or 'melodious' aspects of Bach which met mixed reactions. Here, I examine points of confluence between tempo and dynamics that elicit an impression of flexibility and vocality in Cohen's recordings, and might have prompted these descriptions.

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6. See Chapter 5. 'In the case of Harriet Cohen, we find a rare and happy amalgamation of … the spirit of Bach and her own vivid personality… She comes to the world of Bach playing like fresh air into a stuffy room.' (*The Gramophone,* March 1929: 445). 'Harriet Cohen gives Bach a rather romantic aspect… That sort of approach to Bach results in the loss of the very qualities which make Bach's art so great'. (*The Sackbut,* June 1930: 307–8).
7. *The New York Times*, 7 December 1930: 134.
8. *The Sackbut,* June 1930: 307. See Chapter 5, notes 73 and 75.

Melody and Tempo

Cohen's shaping of dynamics in conjunction with tempo is one of the factors at play in this putative 'vocality'. The Prelude in C-sharp minor is also of interest as a possible demonstration – in general terms – of Cohen's supposedly 'romantic' inclinations as a performer. The melodic line is almost devoid of ornamentation, which could be construed as a privileging of long-line phrasing over local melodic embellishments. Turning to the tempo, it is extremely free (more so than in her performance examined in Chapter 6). Using the same methodology outlined in Chapter 6, Figure 7.1 plots crotchet tempo in the first 13 bars of the Prelude in C-sharp minor. It shows considerable and numerous moment-to-moment changes in tempo.[9] The plot displays in a visually intuitive manner how systematically this variation in tempo creates ebb and flow at bar-level. Moreover, this regular ebb and flow coincides with melodic features of the movement. Referring to Example 7.1, note how there is a recurring pattern in which Cohen plays the first half-bar more quickly than the second. This pattern changes when the melodic shape of the bar

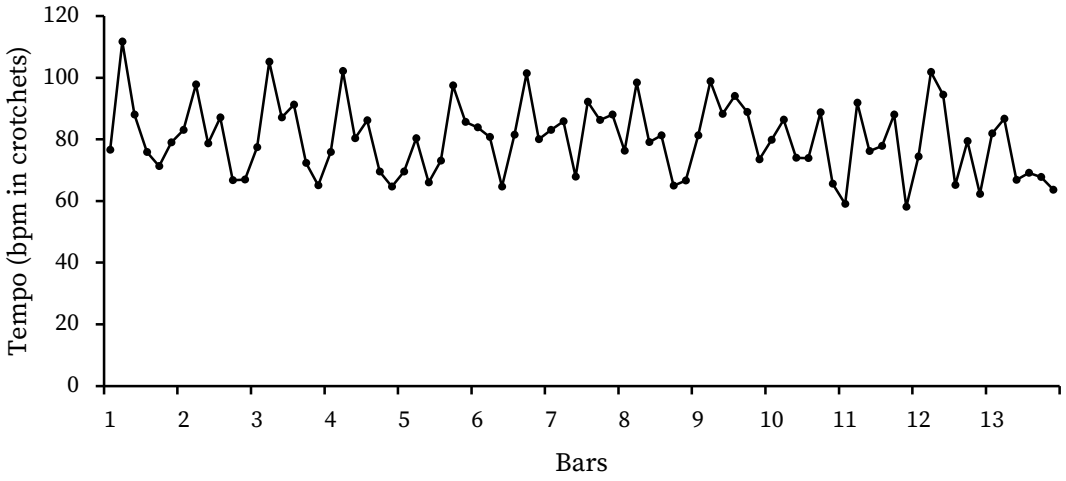
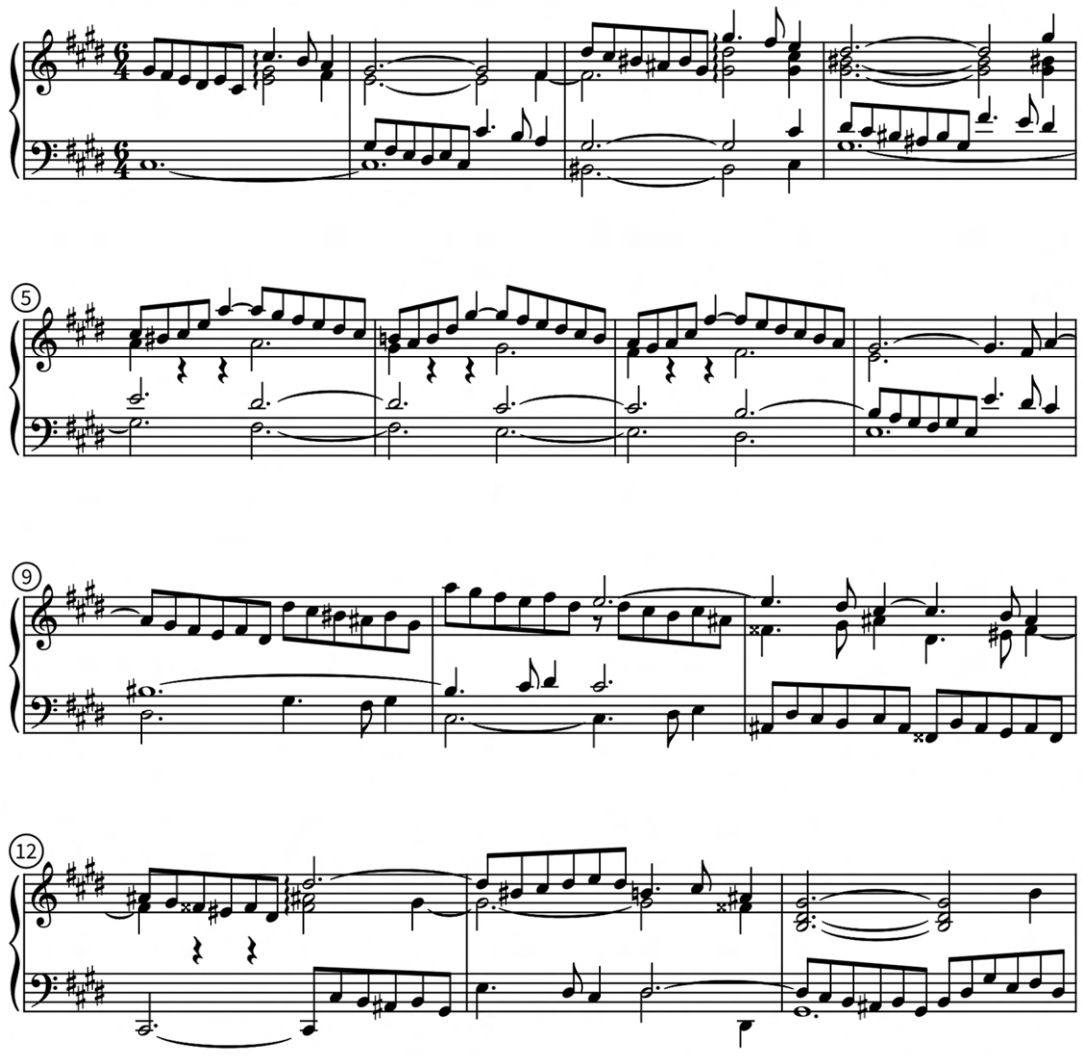


Figure 7.1. Tempo plot of Cohen's performance in the Prelude in C-sharp minor (Book I) BWV 846, bars 1–13

9. This is to be compared with Howard-Jones's performance of a similarly slow and expressive movement – the Prelude in E minor from Book I – shown in Figure 7.3 with tempo displayed at the same vertical scale.

changes from bar 5, from which point the first half-bar is stretched instead of the second (see Example 7.1); this performance gives more time to the ascending gesture and moves forward with the descending scale that coincides with the harmonic resolution.

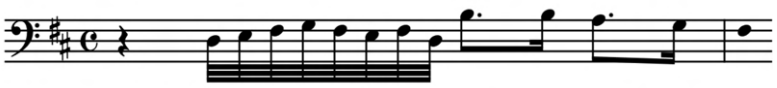


Example 7.1. Prelude in C-sharp minor (Book I) BWV 849[10]

Another telling example is to be found in the Fugue in D major. I would argue that Cohen's choice of a slow tempo and legato articulation throughout gives the movement a very different character to the expectation that might be considered intuitive and straightforward for a present-day pianist. The subject, notated in Example 7.2, begins with

10. N.B. I have notated only the ornamentation that Cohen plays in the 1929 recording, namely the breaking of chords at bars 1, 3, and 12. Note also that her reading of bar 10 and 11 is textually idiosyncratic. The tie in the middle of bar 11 (top voice) is Cohen's, as far as I know, although both Bischoff and Kroll (along with Tovey) omit the tie in the soprano voice over bar 12. In this latter case, Cohen's performance reflects commonly accepted knowledge of her time.

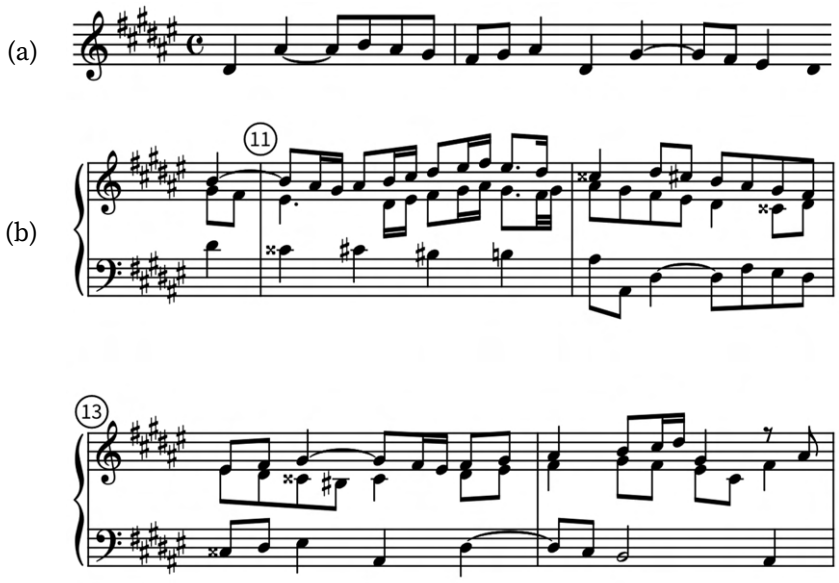
a rush of demisemiquavers and a series of dotted rhythms. Other traits in the movement, most notably the near-ubiquity of this dignified dotted rhythm and its use with solid chords (see bars 25 and 26 in Example 7.4), all allude to the stylistic conventions of the French Overture. Cohen's performance brings into focus this ostensibly intuitive understanding by her non-conformity to it. Hearing the recording, one immediately surmises that the movement might be performed if not slightly faster, then with a more accented or angular rendition of the dotted rhythms. Cohen's performance seems to shift the focus towards the 'melisma' in the subject rather than to the stately dance-like character of the dotted rhythms, which she plays metrically. This can be understood as a privileging of melodic interest over dance character.



Example 7.2. Subject in the Fugue in D major (Book I) BWV 850

In the Fugue in D-sharp minor, the tempo is shaped with regard for melodic and contrapuntal tension. It is worth examining more closely the events of bars 11 and 12, notated in Example 7.2 and revisited in Figure A7.3.[11] The anacrusis to bar 11 – i.e. the crotchet b' in the soprano voice – is accented and the tempo is stretched throughout bar 11. I suspect that this prepares the rhythmically contracted entry in the bass line on the second quaver of bar 12. To clarify the labels applied in the model of Bach pianism as proposed in Chapter 6, I would argue that the tempo fluctuation observed here seems to highlight the harmonic tension in the descending bass line and attends to the melodic feature of the subject entry in the bass. This recalls the harmonic/melodic treatment of tempo alluded to in the three-dimensional model in Chapter 6.

11. N.B. Figures labelled 'A7' instead of '7' are to be found in Appendix 7.



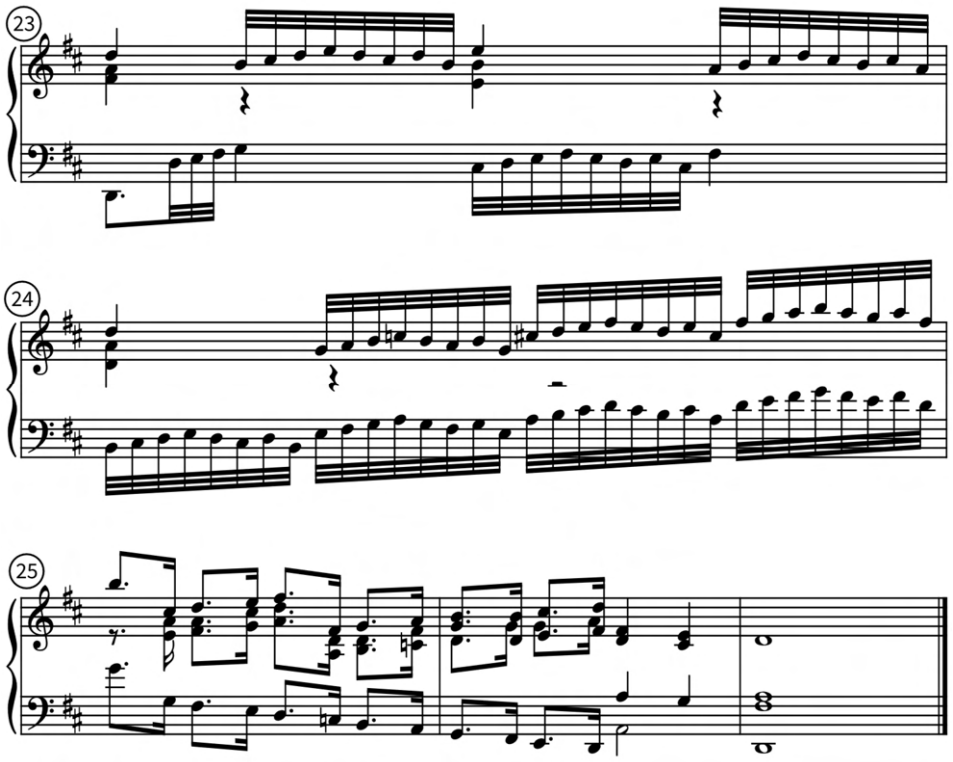
Example 7.3. Fugue in D-sharp minor (Book I) BWV 853

Tempo and dynamics

Cohen's comparatively free manner of shaping tempo attends to melodic and harmonic features, but dynamics are also involved in this expressive strategy. One differentiates in her case between two broad categories of crescendo gesture; this differentiation arguably falls under the category of 'phrasing'. Heuristically, I label these types of gesture 'emphasis' – one in which the dynamic level rises alongside a reduction in tempo – and 'intensification', when both dynamics and tempo rise together. These are put to use in different ways throughout her partial *Well-Tempered Clavier* recording. For example, in bars 5, 7, and 17 of the Prelude in C major, the crescendo is accompanied by an increase in tempo. This gesture is shown in Figure A7.1. Listening to the recording, one hears a gesture of acceleration at or around bar 5, although the empirical demonstration shows that it is in fact in bar 4 that the tempo increases, giving the passage a sense of intensification in preparation for the following bar, which one hears as faster as well as louder. The downbeat of bar 7, however, is indeed performed at a higher tempo, coinciding with the second gesture of crescendo. Figure A7.2, however, shows a different kind of crescendo. This example returns us to the Prelude in C-sharp minor. The melodic and harmonic tension involve temporal stretches where there is a crescendo: in the final crotchet of bar 11, the dynamic peak coincides with the temporal trough. This kind of shaping is also in the Fugue in D-sharp minor, shown in Figure A7.3.

Returning to the Fugue in D major, there is a passage that invites further reflection on the overall effect of these categories of 'emphasis' and 'intensification'. I choose to comment on Cohen's performance not in relation to another existing performance, but in terms of the imaginative possibilities that are afforded by the score itself. Example 7.4 shows the final bars of the Fugue. The two contrasting thematic elements alluded to above – the 'melisma' and the 'French Overture' dotted rhythms – interact in the closing bars of the movement. The demisemiquavers alternate in bar 23 between right and left hands, then appear in both hands in bar 24, coinciding with a registral ascent of both voices; finally, a conclusive gesture comprising solid chords is set out in the dignified dotted rhythm. Among the many *possible* performances that the score affords, it is plausible to suggest that bar 24 could be played in a gesture of intensification, combining crescendo and accelerando. It might have been effective to have this gesture interrupted by the return of the French Overture rhythm. Instead, perhaps analogously to her choice of the melisma as the expressive focal point of the Fugue, Cohen prefers a gesture of emphasis. Instead of taking flight in an outburst of demisemiquavers, the passage ceremoniously opens up, coming to rest on the return of the dotted rhythm rather than crashing against it. This privileging of continuity over contrast is reminiscent of Cohen's performance discussed in Chapter 6 (see Figure A6.21).

What might potentially be a solemn and rhythmically accented slow movement is given instead a flexible and melodically expressive performance. The experience of listening to this recording is informative precisely because it is unusual. As a pianist and as a listener, my expectation is largely built out of the stylistic cues enumerated above in relation to the French Overture idiom. By her non-conformity to those expectations of how the piece should sound, Cohen brings attention to them. Her performance proposes alternatives, which I need not adopt for myself, but the consideration of which inevitably enriches my general perspective on the movement.



Example 7.4. Fugue in D major (Book I) BWV 850

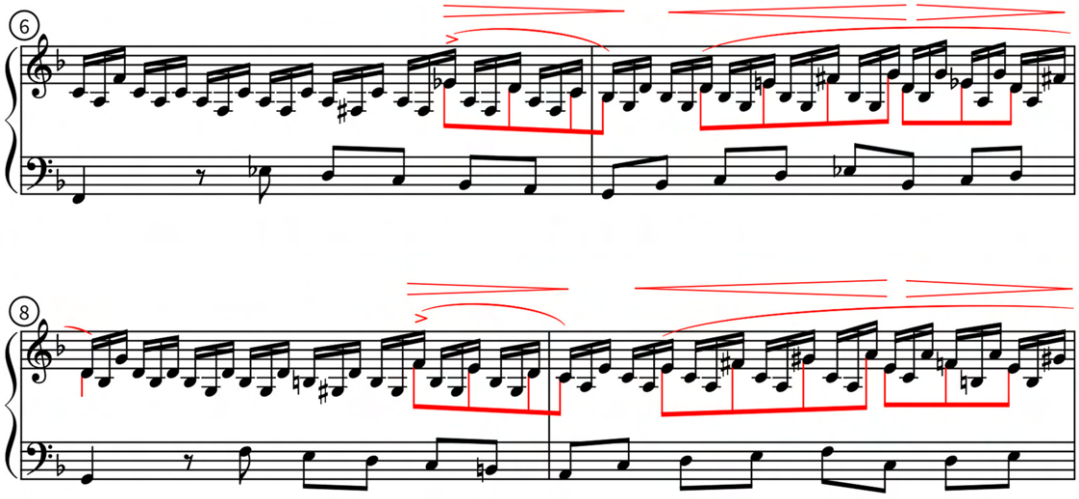
Expressive Possibilities of the Piano: Dynamics and Sustain

Cohen makes liberal use of the piano's idiomatic expressive features, such as variegated use of dynamics in the context of phrasing, and control over the overall texture. In Fugal textures, Cohen gives dynamic emphasis to subject entries when they appear in an inner voice or in the bass. One such example may be found in the Fugue in C major, in which the tenor entry in bar 7 and the alto entry in bar 9 receive significant emphasis. As was seen above in the case of Figure A7.3, she underlines the bass entry of the subject in the Fugue in D-sharp minor with tempo as well. In the Prelude in C minor, Cohen's dynamics are variegated at both local and general levels. There is a decrescendo with lower dynamic level that is accompanied by a thinner sound (either through pedal or through clearer articulation) in bars 12 to 14. This is an example of how overall texture can gradually be controlled on a piano and how Cohen makes liberal use of this affordance.

Harmonic Thinking

After much being made of Cohen's melodic intensity, it must be added that her performances also highlight harmonic texture. This approach is evident in the Prelude in C minor, where she holds on to certain notes in the patterning in such a way as to sound chords. This is evident in bars 5 to 9 and in the final cadence.

The Prelude in D minor provides another example of this habit of holding onto notes to make implied harmonic and contrapuntal relationships explicit. Further evidence to elaborate on the charge that Cohen took a romantic view of Bach pianism, or indeed an element to support the descriptions of her interpretative freedom, is found in Rutland's criticism: he decried her 'Schumann-like emphasis on the unaccented melody which Bach left in subtle hiding'.[12] In this case, she pedals harmonies, but also voices the layers in the texture in such a way as to produce a kind of syncopated counter-melody in canon with the bass line. These subtleties of accent and emphasis are difficult to represent with empirical tools, but Example 7.5 makes an attempt at notation to describe the approach in bars 6 to 9 of the Prelude.

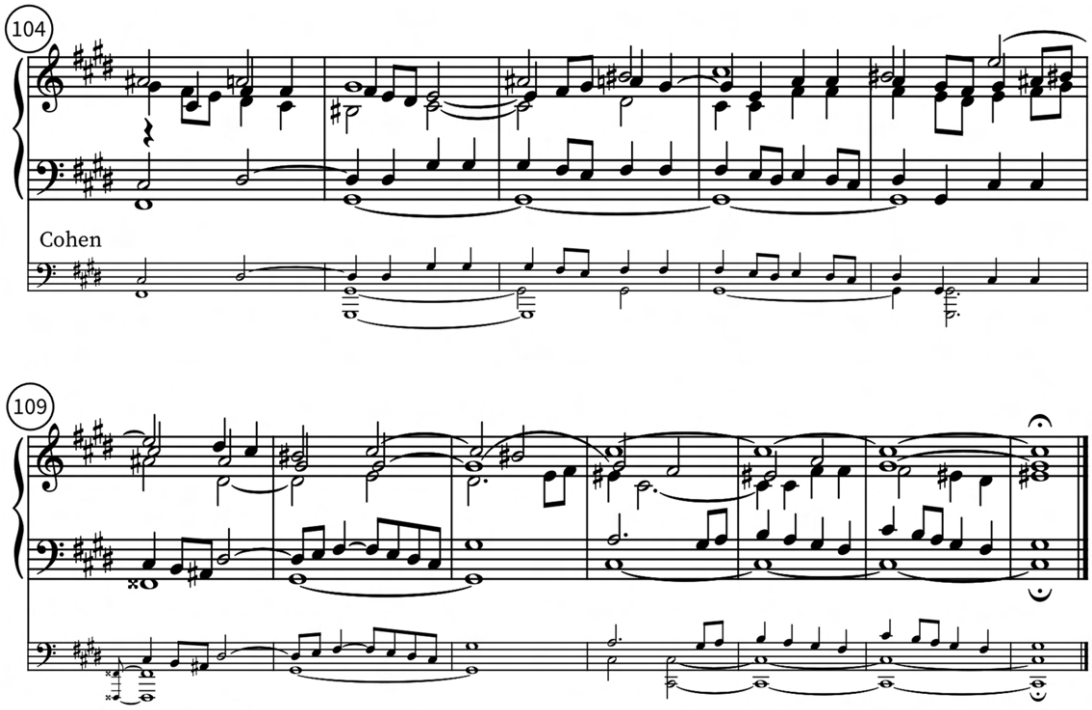


Example 7.5. Prelude in D minor (Book I)
Added beaming, slurs, hairpins, and accents (in red) are added to complete the description of the Schumann-like approach.

12. *The Sackbut*, June 1930: 307-8.

‘Organistic’ conception of texture

The ending of the Fugue in C sharp minor gives a glimpse of the ‘organistic’ understandings that may have been applied in performance to the keyboard works: Cohen’s performance of bars 105 to the end, notated in Example 7.6, flirts with the conventions of nineteenth-century Bach transcriptions and portrays the Fugue through the imaginative lens of the organ, complete with pedal-board part. These metaphors, in particular the allusion to the pedal part, were not rare at the time.[13] This practice was waning among British performers, although Kempff and Fischer continued to employ it.



Example 7.6. Fugue in C-sharp minor (Book I)
Small staff approximates Cohen’s realisation.

In the application of a model to describe a pianist’s Bach approach, care must be taken not to generalise unduly. Examples such as the Prelude in D major prompt one to consider the multiplicity of approaches evident in a pianist’s output. Here, Cohen’s tempo is relatively constant, the texture dry, and the dynamics relatively flat. The one exception is in bar 32, where the thickening of the texture is effected by Cohen with small accents and faint dilation of tempo. While some traits in the Prelude in D major deviate from the other examples seen of Cohen’s playing, her performances are distinctive and consistent

13. See note 32 in this chapter and corresponding passage.

enough that such examples are exceptions to be accounted for *within a general tendency*. Making a new attempt to place her on the model adumbrated in Chapter 6 – here on the basis of a wider selection of performances – shows how placing one dot on the three-dimensional plot inevitably relies on some amount of generalisation. However, the salient traits that she exhibits can usefully be summarised here.

A few things have been seen in this chapter that may revise the plot shown in Figure 6.24. Assessing this wider range of recordings, it is clear that she shapes dynamics as well as tempo according to melodic and harmonic contour rather than metrical interest, and that she makes liberal use of the piano's affordances in terms of pedalling and overall texture. Her phrasing includes subtly variegated gradations of dynamics that interconnect with tempo, and these parameters, added together, would situate her as she is shown in Figure 7.2.

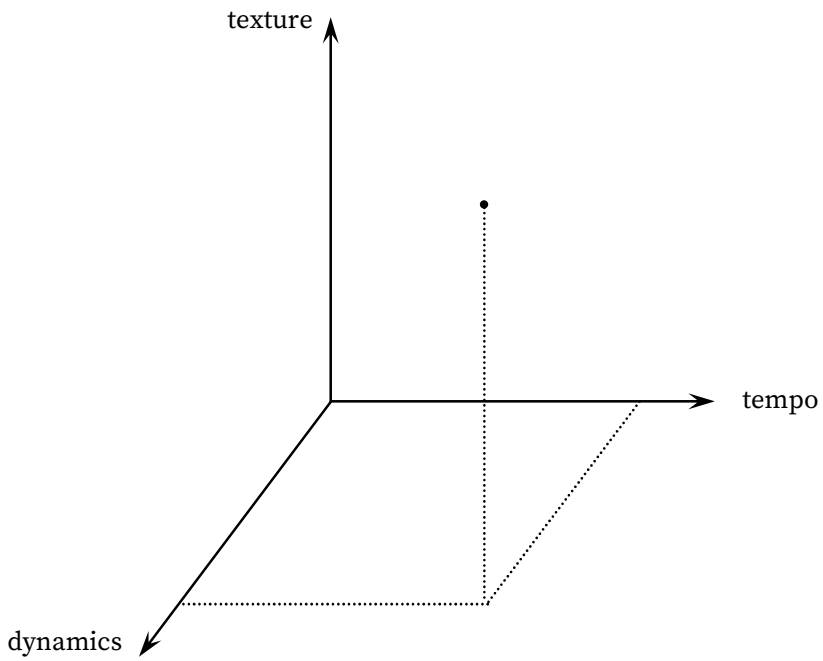


Figure 7.2. Cohen on the model

Evlyn Howard-Jones

Given the frequency with which Howard-Jones was compared to Cohen at the time of the release of the Columbia *Well-Tempered Clavier*,[14] it is tempting to venture a stock-taking comparison here. However, with due allowance for changes in listening practices, it is worth noting how at the time, the temptation had been to differentiate them, while now, the two pianists seem relatively close in general approach. In this section, I aim to account for both the differences and commonalities between Howard-Jones and Cohen. The recordings examined here come from his instalment of the abortive Columbia *Well-Tempered Clavier*, which contains, in sequential order, the Preludes and Fugues from E minor to A-flat major.

Tempo: Strictly Free and Freely Strict

On a superficial level, Howard-Jones's performances appear to have much in common with Cohen's. This leads us to question the writers of early twentieth-century criticism who described his performance style as 'a little monotonous and dry at times',[15] but also it serves to illustrate how much one's hearing is grounded in an individual horizon of expectation.

But despite exhibiting considerable flexibility in tempo, Howard-Jones tends to vary tempo in response to harmony or structurally significant cadences, rather than continuously in response to melodic interest. His fluctuation of tempo is generally narrower than Cohen's. I begin by listing moments in Howard-Jones's *Well-Tempered Clavier* recording that show a certain flexibility of tempo.

14. Day 200: 193–4; *The Gramophone*, August 1930: 128; *The Musical Times*, August 1930: 715; *The New York Times*, 7 December 1930: 134.

15. *The Gramophone*, August 1930: 128.

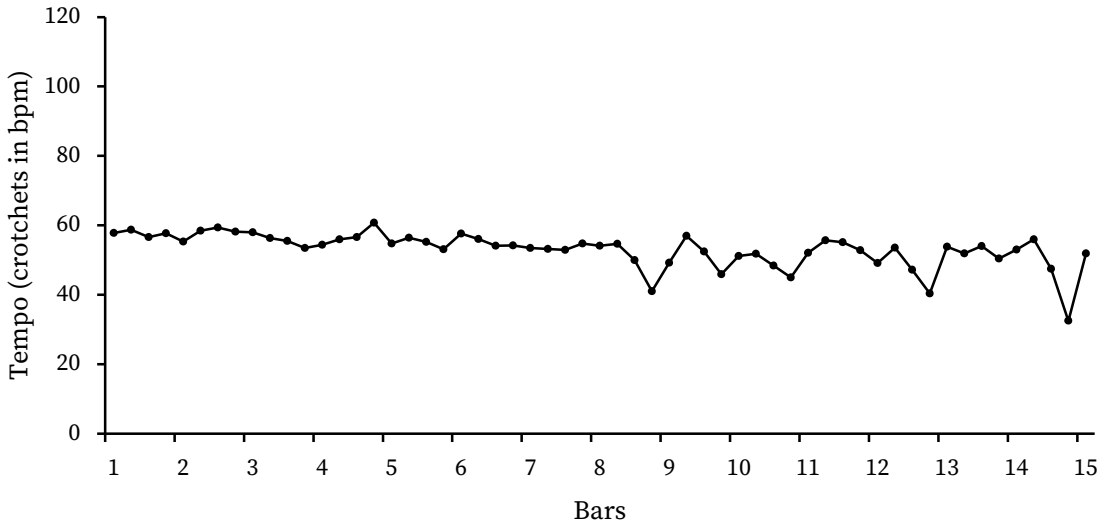


Figure 7.3. Tempo plot of Evlyn Howard-Jones's performance of the first 14 bars of the Prelude in E minor (Book I) BWV 855[16]

Figure 7.3 plots Howard-Jones's tempo in the first 14 bars in the Prelude in E minor from Book I. The second half of bar 8 is the first significant stretch in tempo. One hears it now as a striking and broad allargando, but Figure 7.1 and the precedent set by Cohen reveal that, in historical context, Howard-Jones's approach was not as free as such an expansion in tempo would suggest today: the changes in tempo up to that point were generally modest, and Howard-Jones may have considered the cadence in the relative major at bar 9 important enough in the hierarchy of events to merit such a hold in tempo. It should be noted also that he plays the next bars with considerably more flexibility than the first eight. The long phrase in bars 1 to 8 is followed by three two-bar gestures, leading to cadences in E minor at bar 11, C major at bar 13, and A minor bar 15. Note how Howard-Jones's temporal treatment is most flexible in bars 9 to 15. Incidentally, bar 15 is the beginning of a longer (eight-bar) phrase that leads to the presto section of the Prelude. It is unsurprising, then, to find another cadence proportionally broader than the others to punctuate this juncture. The division of musical events into sections is by no means fixed, and certainly not fixed in the score, but Howard-Jones's perhaps more reserved use of temporal flexibility is used here in a way that suggests the purpose of differentiating sections – of establishing a structural relationship between the two eight-bar phrases in bars 1–8 and 15–22 (to be treated more unbendingly) and the three two-bar gestures in bars

16. The vertical axis is given at the same scale as Figure 7.1 for ease of comparison with Cohen.

9–14 (to be treated more flexibly). Behind a treatment which merely seems more flexible than the present-day listener is accustomed to hearing, such a schema organises these events into a performed structure through the use of rubato. This approach, insofar as it can be shown to be more mindful of long-term features of the movement, is an element that differentiates him from Cohen.

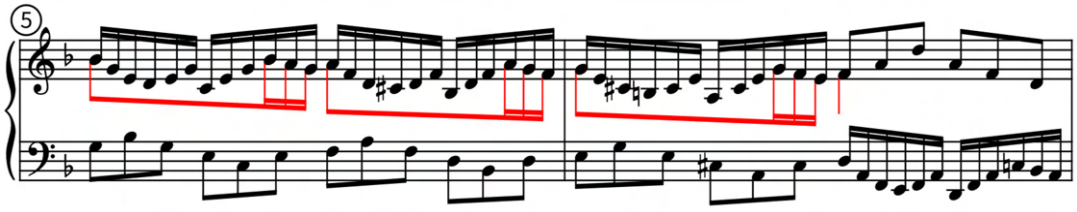
Some rare cases stand at the crossroads of structural, melodic and harmonic motivations. In terms of timing, the Fugue in F minor exhibits quite characteristic ebbing and flowing that, in some respects, is remarkably similar to Cohen's performance. Cadences at bars 9, 30, and 43 are stretched in time. It may be ventured that these are ways of delineating phrase boundaries. Then again, they all appear at the end of the pattern of descending chromaticism in a subject entry. The case of bar 46 is of interest because it is both a phrase boundary and a moment of harmonic intensification that is unique in the movement.

However, in most of Howard-Jones's performances – especially in brisker movements – the only significant form of tempo change is confined to the approach of the final cadence in a movement.

Uses of the expressive possibilities of the modern piano

When turning to the use of the piano's range of sonority, Howard-Jones continues to seem very similar to Cohen. Still, differences may be identified in aspects like the strong sectional contrasts that he effects using changes in overall sonority (where Cohen tends to be more gradual) and his slightly more prevalent use of articulation.

An example from the Prelude in E minor is fairly representative. The texture is generously pedalled in the first section. Then, in bars 21 and 22, the texture thins at the approach of the presto. It is possible that up to that point in the movement, the notes had been sustained with pedals or finger legato, or with a combination of the two. This interplay of thick and thin is also at work in Howard-Jones's performance of the Prelude in A-flat major. The texture of the movement is richly pedalled, in some cases, such as bar 20, blurring the semitone passing note. However, the texture appears thinner from bar 22 onwards, where the left hand plays busier semiquavers.

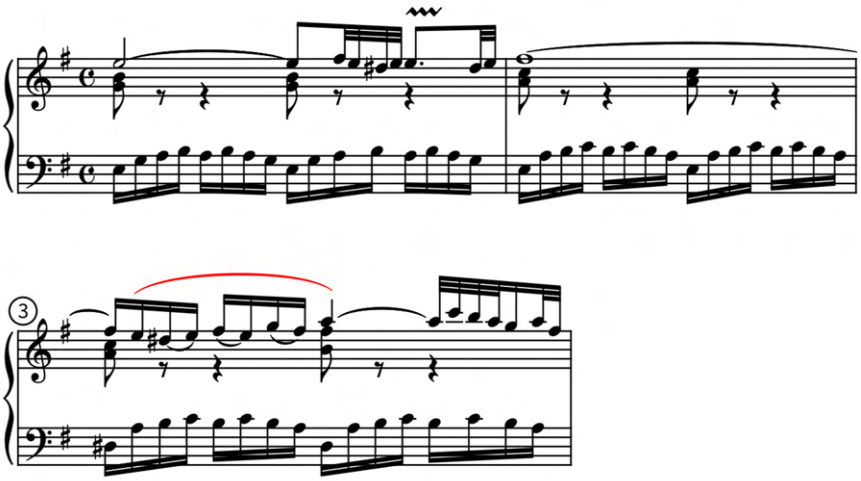


Example 7.7. Prelude in F major (Book I) BWV 856 with added beaming (in red) to represent Howard-Jones's finger legato

The Prelude in F major is another case in which Howard-Jones uses pianistic strategies that are perhaps different from Cohen's. The layering of dynamics is flat, as far as I can tell from listening with the score, but variation is achieved here also with thickening and thinning of texture. The trills, for example in bars 3 and 4, are supported with some pedalling. It is possible to ascertain in this case that much of the halo of harmony was achieved with finger sustain: in these passages, for example at bar 5, the quavers are detached, so it cannot be the result of the damper pedal. The scheme of held notes follows the melodic resolutions in the right-hand melody, as shown in Example 7.7. This insistence on resolutions may also be indicative of a continued concern for melodic and harmonic interest in this particular form of Bach pianism, but realised through articulation rather than tempo flexibility.

A distinctly pianistic approach of Howard-Jones's concerns his use of streamlined, long-line phrasing. Evidence of this is to be found in the Prelude in E minor. In bar 3 nineteenth-century editions such as those of Bischoff and the Bach Gesellschaft already printed the short slurs that appear in Example 7.8. However, Howard-Jones plays the semiquavers uniformly legato. Traits such as these show how his performances achieved a certain streamlined quality in terms of dynamics and phrasing. These cases lend additional support to Examples 4.18 and 4.19 to show in concrete terms the approach to which I am referring: given a choice of text or a choice of ornamentation, Howard-Jones tends to choose soberer, less ornate options.

This may also be observed in his rendition of the Prelude in F-sharp major. None of the notated trills is performed. This could stem from various reasons: perhaps trills would have made it awkward to pedal as Howard-Jones did; perhaps there is a broader atmosphere of simplicity that he was trying to achieve in this prelude, or he is trying not to distract from the other voice's imitative answer underneath the trills.



Example 7.8. Prelude in E minor (Book I) BWV 855
Black ink: as printed in BGA and Bischoff
Red ink: as played by Howard-Jones

Layering of dynamics

Howard-Jones's recording contains a variety of treatments in terms of dynamics. In the Prelude in F minor, the use of dynamics is limited to a few swells, giving prominence to registral summits such as the c″ in bar 11. The Prelude in F-sharp major is highly variegated in terms of the dynamic shaping: although there are crescendos in the centre of phrases, and decrescendos as the phrase unfurls to its conclusion, this shaping of the dynamics is not always coincidental with shaping in tempo. In the Fugue in A-flat major, the voices are layered, and often given differing levels of emphasis in the texture, with the subject most often brought out. Some sections, however, are differentiated sequentially rather than vertically, such as two motivically similar statements in bars 23 and 24, in which the first is performed softer and the second louder.

Comparisons between Cohen and Howard-Jones are interesting, but problematic. Here, I choose to reconcile two very different listener experiences: one which follows on from the commentators of the 1920s and 1930s, differentiating them – as indeed the wealth of remarks collected in Chapter 5 invite such an exercise; the other attempting to reflect on each performance, if not in isolation, then according to the expectations that it sets up. Howard-Jones is expressive but derives motivation for his tempo changes from more than just melodic or harmonic interest. As is seen in the 'Counterpoint' section later in this

chapter, Howard-Jones differs from Cohen because his shift in emphasis from subject to countersubject appears to attend more closely to the 'structural' features of the fugues rather than the decorative approach of Cohen. Both are very expressively involved, but in different ways and using similar devices not quite to the same ends. This is why placing Howard-Jones on the three-dimensional model involves taking account of a 'melodic' use of tempo, though to a lesser extent than Cohen. Although there is a greater use of sectional contrasts, he also effects plenty of intra-phrase shaping as well, placing him in the vicinity of Cohen for this parameter, but less involved. The question of texture is a thorny one. One of the main ways to differentiate Howard-Jones from Cohen is the more restrained but nevertheless present variegation in tempo, and despite – in certain movements such as the Prelude in A-flat major – a generous use of pedal. Howard-Jones's approach furthermore relies more often than Cohen on finger legato, especially in fugues. This adds up to the assessment visually displayed in Figure 7.4.

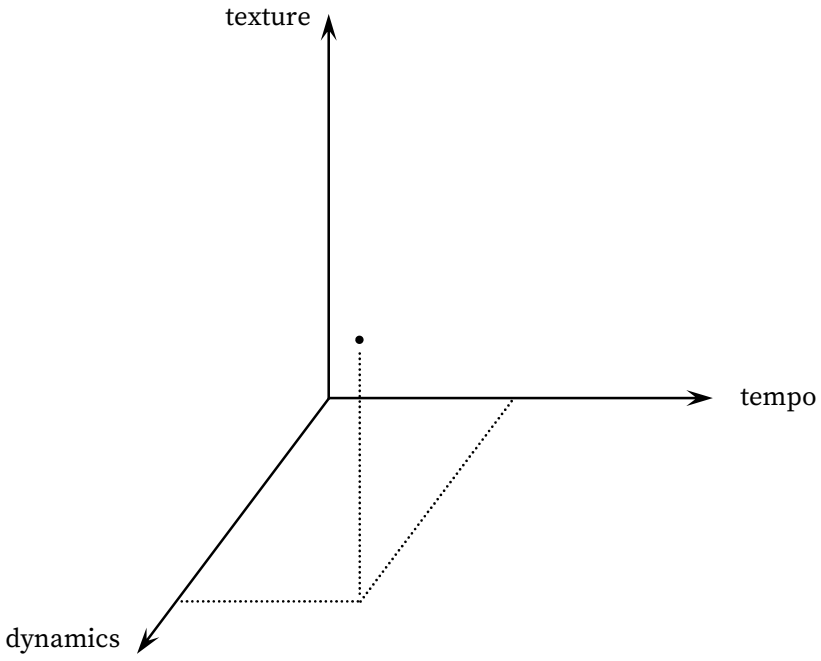


Figure 7.4. Howard-Jones on the model

Harold Samuel: Bach on the Village Green

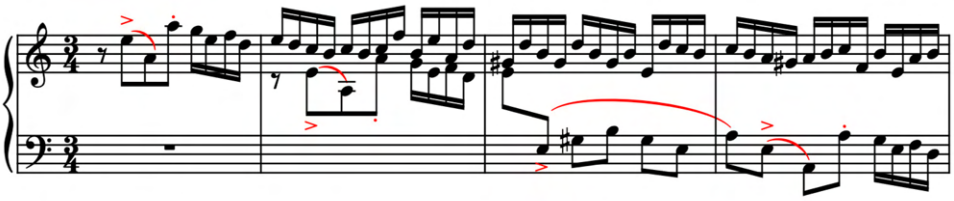
As seen in Chapter 5, Samuel was the first pianist to prolifically record the Bach keyboard works. Rutland Boughton said of his recording of the Partita in B-flat major BWV 825 that 'when he comes to the Jig he plays it, not for the drawing-room audience, but for the dancers on the village green'.[17] As seen also in Chapter 3, these mentions of vitality, honesty, and health are of course ethically charged. Bach performances were understood within broader cultural currents, including but not limited to the folk song revival, emergent modernism, and a reappraisal of features such as physicality in musical performance. In another context, these factors might inform a broader assessment of how commentators reacted to Bach performance. But here, I proceed in search of concrete observations to clarify, in pianistic terms, what was happening when Samuel played Bach. I have given preference to his electrically recorded contributions. Considered below are selected examples from his phonographic accounts of the Partita in B-flat major BWV 825, Partita in C minor BWV 826, English Suite in A minor BWV 807, and the Preludes and Fugues in C major and C minor from Book I, and G major from Book II of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.

'Rhythmic Vitality'

One of the most pressing questions when turning now to the recordings of Samuel concerns the exact nature of his 'rhythmic vitality', described in both Chapters 3 and 5 with reference to his live performances and his recordings. I explore how this phenomenon – or range of phenomena – may be divided into identifiable constituent parts. This section begins with a defining aspect of Samuel's pianism, investigating dynamics and tempo to better describe his 'rhythmic vitality'.

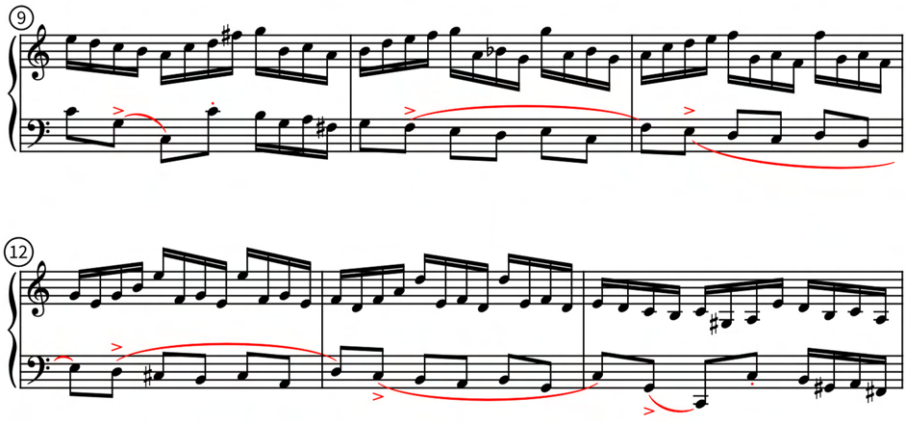
17. See Chapter 5, notes 72 and 75.

Accentuation Schema and Texture



Example 7.9. Prelude from the English Suite in A minor BWV 807 with accentuation and phrasing marks (in red) to summarise Samuel's performance (see also Figure A7.4 in Appendix 7)

One of the more empirically identifiable devices is the management of accents within the bar to create variety despite using a comparatively narrower band of tempos. This approach is especially prominent in the Prelude from the English Suite in A minor BWV 807. The main motivic catalyst for the movement is phrased as shown in Example 7.9 and displayed in Figure A7.4. The motif is accented and articulated this way wherever it appears. In the opening 'paragraph' of the movement, the accentuation on the second quaver of bars 10 to 14 also demonstrates the use of this approach. As shown in Example 7.10 and Figure A7.5, the second quaver of each bar receives varying levels of accent (in the context of the decrescendo), followed by a strong accent on the return of the descending fifth motif that characterises the opening theme.

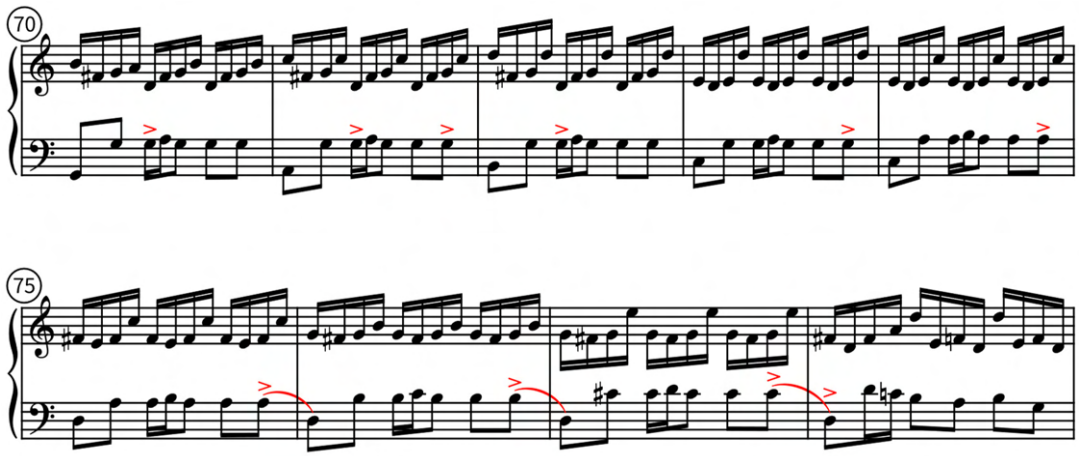


Example 7.10. Prelude from the English Suite in A minor BWV 807 with accentuation and phrasing marks (in red) to summarise Samuel's performance

In bars 70 to 77, and in an analogous passage in bars 99 to 107 (represented in Figures A7.6–9), there is a detailed and compelling use of this variety of accents within the bar. Example 7.11 notates this using accents and slurs, while Figures A7.6–7 show the dynamics curve extracted from the recording. This distribution of accents is undoubtedly

a device used to create musical tension through means other than purely with dynamics or tempo.

This use of accentuation is prevalent in many of Samuel's Bach performances. Another example of such a management of accentuation is to be found in the bass line of bar 43 of the Corrente in the Partita in B-flat major BWV 825 (Example 7.12.c), where unaccented short notes receive weight.



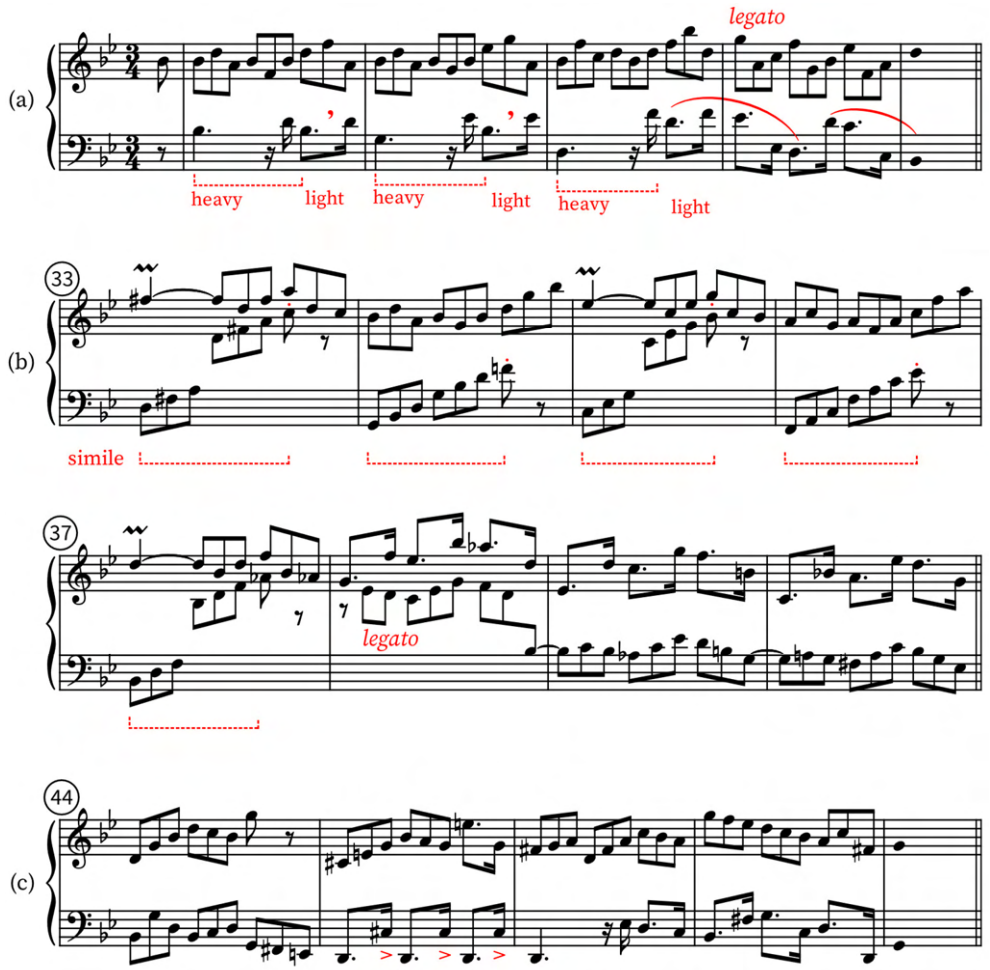
Example 7.11. Prelude from the English Suite in A minor BWV 807, with added accentuation after Samuel[18]

A broader use of pianistic texture contributes to the realisation of this effect. The opening bars of the Corrente in Example 7.12 present potentially informative contrasts. A kind of 'performance motif'[19] that develops in this performance involves a strong beat hierarchy within the three-beat bar. In the opening phrase, the first two beats have a thicker texture, either through pedalling or finger sustain (an uncertainty which is inherent to the very resonant recording and which I have notated in Example 7.12 using dotted pedal markings) while the third beat is generally lighter and thinner (as shown in Example 7.12.a). This creates an intuitive feeling of 'up and down' in the bar. Notice also how Samuel's treatment of texture in this respect contravenes the letter of the text, which, in the form of the semiquaver rests in bars 1 to 3, suggests a caesura before the third beat of these bars. This treatment is not limited to that thematic material. In the more developed excursions in the second half of the Corrente, shown in Example 7.12.b, there is

18. See also Figures A7.6–7 and related passage in Figures A7.8–9.

19. The term recalls CHARM's 'Analysing Motif' project, involving John Rink, Neta Spiro, and Nicolas Gold. See https://charm.rhul.ac.uk/projects/p2_1_1.html (accessed 9 September 2020) as well as Spiro, Gold & Rink 2007a; 2007b; 2010; and Rink, Spiro & Gold 2011.

a similar treatment that gives the passage a metrically strong quality. Looking more closely at the dotted rhythms in the bass line of this Corrente, one sees also how the subversion as well as the reinforcement of this pattern can give the performance contrast and contour. In the first phrase, returning to Example 7.12.a, one might expect Samuel to continue in bar 4 with the same pattern and sense of bar hierarchy, but he does not. The final beat of bar 3 is not shortened in the same way, but leads into the series of iambic



Example 7.12. Corrente from the Partita in B-flat major BWV 825. Annotations (in red) after Samuel's recording. Dotted pedal markings denote thicker texture, but not necessarily with damper pedal.

pairs that are less accented and suggest a longer line. When the dotted rhythms return in bar 10, they are not systematically shortened, but played longer. Another contrast that arises in the same movement as a result of texture and articulation is in bar 18, the end of the first half. The only chord played detached up to that point is between the dominant and the resolution at the end of the first half. This performance accounts for the varying length of musical events through the diversification of articulation.

Another example of this highlighting of metre through pedalling and general texture alteration on the piano is found in the Gigue of the second English Suite. In the second and third time bars 62 to 65 are played, there is quite clearly a similar device to the one employed in the Corrente seen above: a contrast of weight and lightness within the bar is achieved through pedalling and dynamics. In the Bourrée of the same Suite, variety is achieved in the bass lines with articulation: legato and detached groups alternate, often phrasing away from the bar line. Examining bars 9 to 14, there is also a sense of antiphony that is conveyed by the alternation of heavy and light accomplished by the articulation. This sense of antiphony is also present in bars 33 to 35 of Bourrée I.

Local-Level Tempo Variation

The 'liveliness' described by Samuel's contemporaries may also be described in empirical terms through small and localised fluctuations in tempo such as the 'sawtooth patterns' that were observed in Chapter 6, especially as Myra Hess used them. A salient example, once again, is the Prelude from the second English Suite. Note in the dynamics and tempo graph in Figure A7.4 how each downbeat is slightly slower when compared to the other beats in the bar. This unevenness is even more pronounced on the downbeats of bars 2 and 4, where a *thematic* entry, i.e. the descending fifth, is played. In Figure A7.5 as well, the return of the main theme in the bass is also the most expanded beat in the excerpt. Similar variations in tempo are visible in the contour of the dynamics graph in Figures A7.6–9 for bars 75, 76, 77, 101, 104, 105, and 106: in these cases, the third beat in the bar, containing an accented quaver, is slightly elongated. The Capriccio from the Partita in C minor BWV 826 similar traits. Entries of the ascending fourth are all accented, a systematic treatment that recalls Samuel's strategy in the English Suite. As in that case, the dynamic accents are accompanied by emphasis in tempo. Figure A7.10 shows this in bars 35 to 39 of the capriccio.

Tempo

Describing a single overall approach that would characterise Samuel's Bach playing is problematic because his performances seem highly contingent on the nature of the musical material being performed. He is certainly less flexible in the lively movements that have served for the demonstrations in the section on 'rhythmic vitality', and when compared to other pianists, his use of tempo fluctuation is comparatively restrained. In

terms of the variations that are perceptible to the listener, these are most often limited to the closing cadences of sections or movements receiving a stretch in tempo. However, there is a hierarchy of stretches that Samuel effects: in Figure 7.7 later in this chapter, there are temporal stretches at waypoints such as the end of each 'half', but by far the most salient of these is at the final cadence at the end of the movement.

In potentially troubling ways, Samuel frustrates the expectation created by those critics who, as cited in Chapter 3, described his rhythmic steadiness. In the Allemande of the English Suite in A minor, Samuel's timing is more flexible than in the Prelude, particularly in the second half, with moving forward and holding back at points such as bar 19 (moving forward) and bar 12 or 21 (holding back). Samuel sounds considerably freer with tempo to a present-day listener than he must have seemed to his contemporaries. Referring specifically to Samuel's recording, Boughton Rutland noted that he 'gives a more real Bach, in which the original creation is built up stone by stone, as in the Prelude (*never halting, even for that seductive second subject)*'.[20]

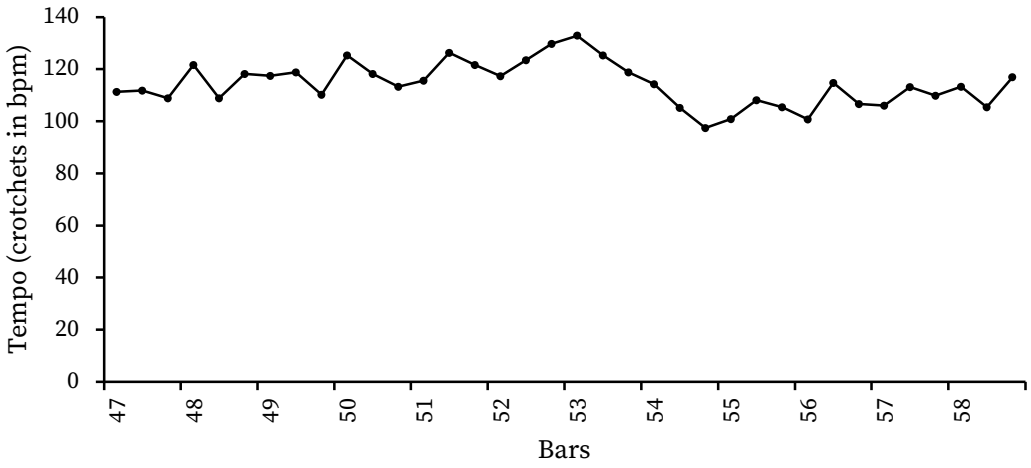


Figure 7.5. Tempo plot of Samuel's performance of the Prelude in the English Suite in A minor BWV 807, bars 47 to 59.

However, Samuel effects a pronounced ritenuto in preparation of the B section at 55 (Figure 7.5). It is possible that Rutland was referring to the fact that Samuel played both sections in a roughly similar tempo, but it should be observed, on the basis of Figure 7.5, that he in fact remains slightly slower in the B section, from bar 55 onwards, than he had been before that point. We might glean from this that another pianist in the early

20. *The Sackbut*, June 1930: 308. My italics.

twentieth century may have played the entirety of the 'second subject' to which Rutland refers at a significantly slower pace, whereas the difference is small in Samuel's case, even if it is still present.

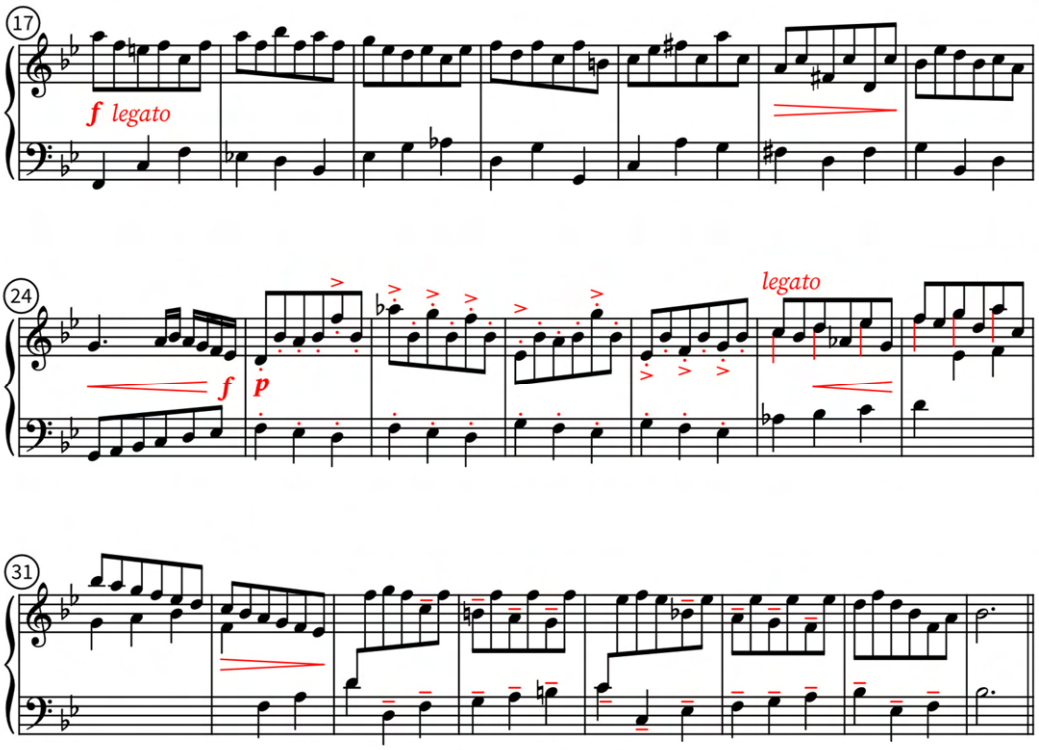
Indeed, Samuel only seldom effects sectional differences in tempo within a single movement. In the Minuet from the first Partita, Samuel plays the Minuet II at the same tempo, contrasting with other pianists of the same time, such as Blanche Selva, who played it slower.[21] As has been seen, Samuel's contrasts in tempo were modest if they were made at all. This policy was far from self-evident in the pre-World War II conventions of performance.

Articulation

While Samuel's performances feature comparatively restrained variation in tempo and accentuation schemes that highlight counterpoint and dance forms, it is worth noting that he retains many commonalities with pianists like Cohen in his use of pianistic texture.

The Minuet in the first Partita shows how variety of texture – in the pianistic sense – can constitute a strategy employed by Samuel to create musical variety within a movement. This is most readily identifiable in the scheme of legato and detached passages in the bass. In Example 7.13 I use staccato markings to notate short notes and tenuto markings for an articulation of intermediate length, legato being the default articulation. This arrangement seems to suggest a tiered increase in dynamic level as well as a gradual thickening of the sound over the course of the first eight bars, which is achieved using a combination of articulation and dynamics. This variegation of the musical texture is evident in the brief but internally contrasted second part of the Minuet I, as shown in Example 7.13. Bars 25 to 28 are used as a waypoint between the sustained phrases on either side of them. In fact, the legato section in bars 29 and 30 appear to be supplemented by Samuel holding the right hand's quavers longer, as notated in the example, using crotchets with downward-facing beams.

21. Selva's 1929 recording of the first Partita is listed under 'Discography: CD reissues' in the Bibliography.



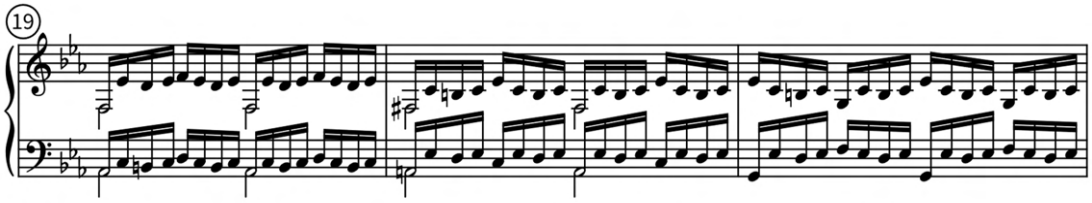
Example 7.13. Second Part of Minuet I in the Partita in B-flat major BWV 825
Annotations and added beaming (in red) from Samuel's performance

Certain targeted uses of dislocation and rolling of chords appear in movements such as the Prelude of the first Partita: in bars 2 and 13, the soprano and alto voices are dislocated; furthermore, the chords at bar 18 quaver 6 and on the downbeat of bar 20 are not completely simultaneous. In the Sarabande, Samuel rolls chords generously, unless there are only two notes, in which case they are played simultaneously. There is a small amount of dislocating as well in bar 23 between soprano and tenor. In the same Partita, Minuet II's more chorale-like texture may be a motivation for Samuel to roll chords. In the Sinfonia of the second Partita, there is dislocation, as in bar 17 quavers 2 and 5, bar 23 downbeat, and bar 27 quaver 2. Certain bass notes are anticipated in cadences such as at the end of the Prelude in the Partita in B-flat major.

Legato is still predominant as an articulation – both in textures in which this would be commonly expected, and in others where it might be more surprising. Some movements such as the Prelude in the Partita in B-flat major and most allemandes are uniformly legato, even when there is a 'walking bass' in the left hand. In brisker movements such as those explored in the 'rhythmic vitality' section, Samuel's treatment of bass lines differs from common expectations about that aspect of Bach's keyboard idiom.

Instead of being detached quavers, they are for the most part legato, but a sense of shape and structure is achieved through accentuation as seen above. In a passage of similar character, the allegro section from the Sinfonia in the second Partita, quavers in the bass are played mostly legato when they are not part of the thematic motif. This is possibly a way to differentiate between the motif and the rest of the texture.

A trait that Samuel shares with Cohen and Howard-Jones is the habit of holding notes in the passagework with finger legato. This creates in performance either a sense of harmony or a heightened sense of counterpoint. In bars 19 and 20 of the Prelude in C minor from Book I, Samuel's typical 'holding on to notes' to create contrapuntal interest is evident in the holding of the F and F-sharp at the bottom of the right hand's pattern. He uses it as well in the Prelude in C major from Book I, accenting parts of the harmony – the 9ths or 7ths in dominant harmonies resolving to 5ths and 3rds respectively – in bars 12 and 14. Example 7.14 shows one such passage in the Prelude in C minor from Book I. Like Howard-Jones, Samuel accents tied notes that are followed by a resolution or by the continuation of the melody. This implicitly conveys concern for melodic continuity.



Example 7.14. Prelude in C minor (Book I) BWV 846 with minims added to describe Samuel's performance

I consider not only uses of the modern instrument's unique affordances, chiefly through the use of pedal, the possibility of making brief accents, or continuous changes of dynamic level; in addition to this, I include instances that suggest a use of the piano as the vehicle for imaginative recreations of other instrumentations. In the opening 'French Overture' section of the Sinfonia in the Partita in C minor, the chords are not just arpeggiated, but at times divided into two solid onsets or two separately rolled onsets (Figure 7.6). In Samuel's case, this idiosyncratic treatment of big rhetorical gestures such as these is suggestive of a violinist's manner of breaking chords.

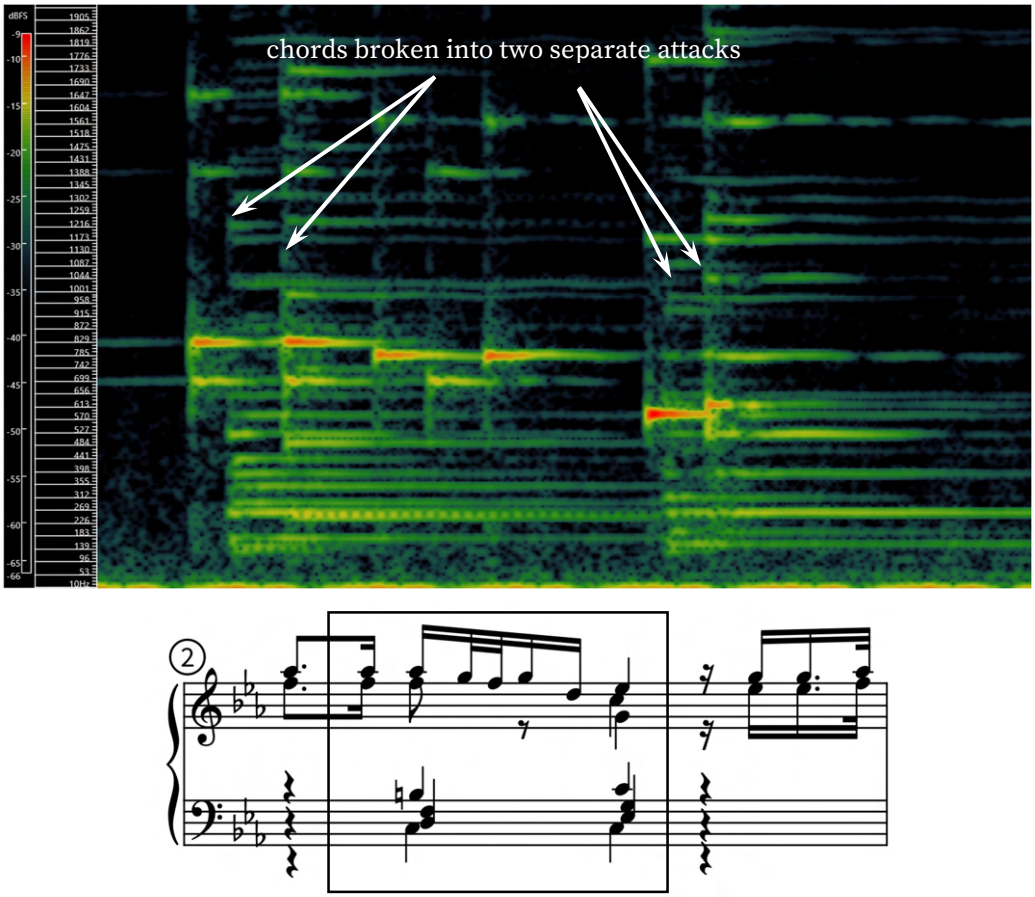


Figure 7.6. Frequency Spectrogram from Samuel's recording of the Sinfonia from the Partita in C minor BWV 826 (square frame identifies the excerpt depicted in the spectrogram)

It is also applied to the rolled chords in the Prelude in B-flat major from Book I (e.g. bars 11, 13, and 15).

The Gigue in the first Partita shows the full palette of the instrument: from heavily pedalled to completely dry and detached. Samuel has a general tendency to play the conjunct movement legato and the disjunct lines detached, although there are exceptions. Where the variety of Samuel's playing is evident is in the second half of the piece, perhaps in conformity with the fact that second parts in such dance forms often have the most ambitious thematic and harmonic adventures. The second part begins somewhat warmer and fuller than the first part. There appears to be a slight increase in resonance, whether through finger sustain, through pedal, or both. By bar 25, each harmony is undoubtedly pedalled with the melody being given emphasis by dynamic level only. The texture thins again until it is more or less completely dry in the harmonic descent in bars 33 to 41.

This may help define Samuel in the broader context of his peers and contemporaries. When he was compared to Walter Gieseking in the *Musical Times,* as seen in Chapter 3,[22] the reviewer made an assessment that jarred with the others, who had described Samuel as disciplined and sober: 'Mr Gieseking [makes] the piano do what it was never meant to do... Every possibility and licence peculiar to the modern instrument was expunged and the result was a delightful piece of character playing, unlike the care-free style of Harold Samuel'.[23] So despite a reformed attitude to tempo fluctuation and an approach to accentuation and bar-hierarchy which shows a concern for rhythm, Samuel nevertheless uses a wide range of possibilities in the modern piano, including pedalling. This variety of palette also separates Samuel from performers such as Blanche Selva, whose dynamics are comparatively flatter and whose playing does not produce the same radical contrasts, but who shape phrases with frequent and noticeable rubato.[24] In the Gigue of the English Suite in A minor, there is a difference in pedalling between the richer, louder texture in bars 12 to 16, winding down the harmony of the previous phrase, and the less pedalled entry in the relative major at bar 17. In bars 39 to 47, the melodic shape is delineated with articulation.

The more chordal passages such as the opening of the Sarabande in the first Partita are pedalled, but texturally thinner places such as bars 5 and 6 are performed more secco, the melody being carried with finger legato. It might be ventured that Samuel differentiates the two characters along the lines of a ripieno/solo distinction. This is borne out by his treatment of bars 21 to 24, where the solo group has three voices, but the texture remains clear and the attacks simultaneous. The *agrément* repeats tend to be more pedalled than the first time around.

Generic Differentiation: Dance movements

Samuel's recorded output significantly over-represents the dance suites, relative to his whole repertoire. As was seen in Chapter 3, this part of Bach's œuvre was one that he had popularised through his marathon concert series, starting in 1921. Works such as the

22. See Chapter 3, note 86 and corresponding passage.

23. *The Musical Times,* December 1926: 1124.

24. Selva's unique Bach approach is another one that the three-dimensional model of tempo, dynamics, and texture can account for more precisely than the romantic–modernist paradigm, but a fuller demonstration of this is beyond the remit of this study.

Goldberg Variations or the *Overture in the French Style*, though being closely associated with Samuel by the concert-going public, would have demanded too many sides to record, and therefore would have incurred too great a commercial risk for companies. It is not surprising, then, that the most popular of the dance suites – the first and second Partitas along with the second English Suite – constitute the larger part of what is being considered here. That being said, Samuel displays an impressive variety of approaches that shows every sign of being motivated by the variety of characters that emerges in the different baroque dance forms.

The 'rhythmic vitality' section mainly examined brisk movements that lay out on the keyboard traits of orchestral, or at the very least Italianate, *concertante* idioms. However, as has been seen in the rest of the sections describing Samuel, this was only one of many possible approaches that he used. I suspect that the use of 'traditional' or 'romantic' performance traits has its motivation, in Samuel's case, in generic differentiation between these characters on the basis of the baroque suite of dances.

In the second English Suite, the Allemande features very different expressive features when compared to the rollicking Prelude that precedes it. It is not far-fetched to suggest that this is because the musical interest is here more melodic and vocal than rhythmic or contrapuntal (something about the slow Allemande – possibly its intricate decorations in bar 15, for example – is more suggestive of the trio sonata than of the orchestra). The Sinfonia from the Partita in C minor shows indications about Samuel's treatment of different stylistic idioms in a Bachian context. It begins with a French Overture, followed by a slow and ornate allemande, and finishes with a lively capriccio, and Samuel gives each radically contrasting treatment.

This differentiation along generic lines serves as evidence that it is not merely a question, in Samuel's case, of performing slow movements differently from fast ones. Even within brisk movements, Samuel's recordings show a variety of possibilities which, I suggest, comes about as a result of idiomatic cues. For example, the Prelude in B-flat major from Book I is a brisk movement and may have been given a relatively even and stable rhythmic performance. However, Samuel articulates waypoints in the long demisemiquaver runs with small inflections of time, such as in bar 10, when the line changes from arpeggiation to a scale. As has been noted above, he avoids shaping with tempo in continuous semiquaver movements such as the Prelude from the English Suite in A minor. Why be so free in this context? Considering that the Prelude in question has the

orthographic features and general aspect of a toccata for organ or violin, the performance from Samuel is accordingly different – accordingly freer and more spontaneous.

Possibly the most unusual musical artefacts in Samuel's recorded output are the *alla breve* courantes. The Courante from the English Suite in A minor is an extreme example of a puzzling quality that prewar recordings sometimes have: the tempo is flighty and unstable, and it rushes forward until it is held up at a cadence (see Figure 7.7). One might contrast Samuel against an *imaginary* other pianist that dwells lovingly on musical textures as they grow busier and shapes phrases accordingly. One might then expect to hear melodic contour delineated by tempo fluctuation. In the case of another imaginary musician – say, one that would apply to the Courante the same treatment as Samuel gives to concerto-like movements such as the Capriccio in the second Partita – the same courante may well be performed at a slower but more consistent pace, with accents providing 'signposts' to the listener, again highlighting phrase boundaries, imitative entries, and hemiolas, but with accentuation, articulation, and dynamics. However, Samuel takes none of these approaches. Perhaps the character he was conveying was the breathlessness itself of the movement. This is also present in a few similar movements such as the Rondeaux from the second Partita. In both cases, the performance is almost chaotic: musical 'traffic policing' does not take place with quite the same efficacy, and the tempo is not as stable either. Less care appears to be taken to differentiate contrapuntal voices. The performance feels unstable in the tied downbeats in bars 57, 62, and 63 of the Rondeaux. Without being aware of the generic differentiation – or the fundamental importance of generic differentiation to Samuel's Bach pianism – one may suspect that Figures 7.7 and 7.8 portrayed two different pianists. In Figure 7.8, Samuel is much more stable, rhythmically, and parsimonious with fluctuation: this is because the Capriccio is of a musical material that Samuel chose to perform differently from the Courante.

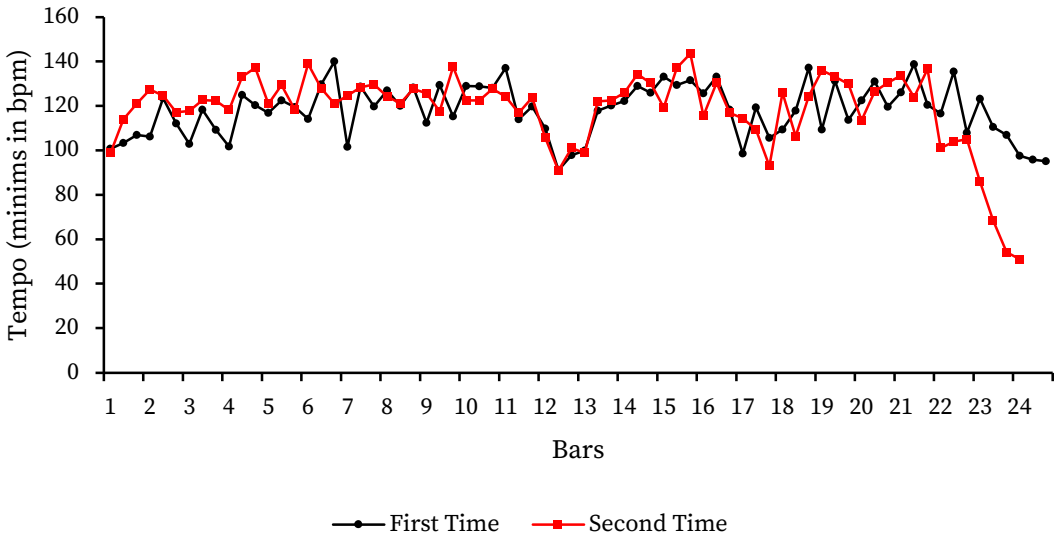


Figure 7.7. Tempo plot of Samuel's performance of the Courante in the English Suite in A minor BWV 807

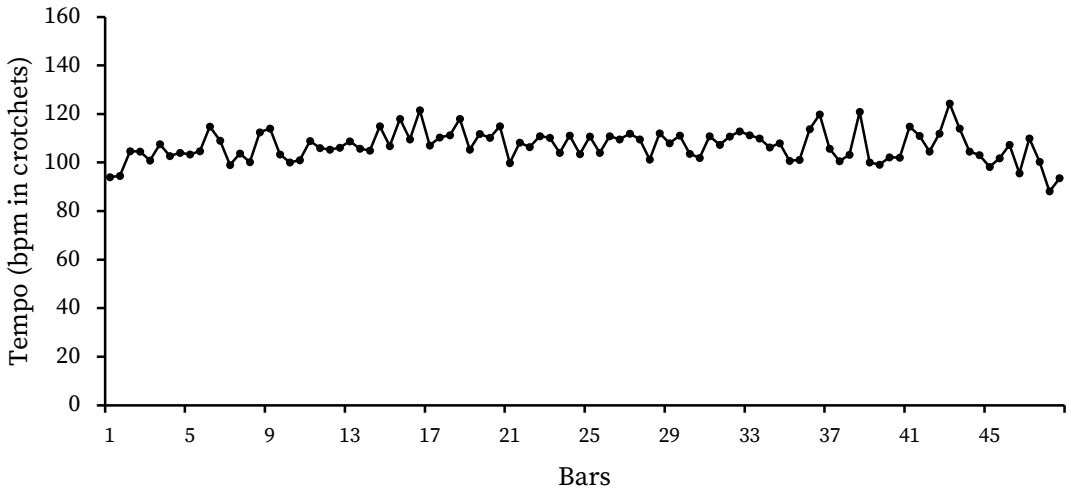


Figure 7.8. Tempo plot of the Capriccio from the Partita in C minor BWV 826 as performed by Samuel

Before making general conclusions about Samuel's performance approach, a few intermediate conclusions – outside the specified questions of rhythm, tempo, dynamics, or articulation – merit being outlined. Samuel makes vanishingly few octave doublings: one exception is the added d an octave below the notated d' in bar 9 of the Prelude in the first Partita.

In all times when the length of the 78rpm record and the grouping of movements on a side allow him, he omits no repeats. This is mentioned in the concert criticism about him seen in Chapter 4. For example, the second repeat of the Allemande in the Partita in B-flat major is omitted, but this is likely because the Prelude and Allemande were grouped on the first side of the set. Samuel's justification for playing all repeats differs from the ones most commonly heard today. His reasoning was based on the experience of repeated listening rather than the purpose of ornamentation. In one of his obituaries, he is quoted as saying 'there is no such thing as identical repetition: the second time, the music is older with all the experience of the first statement.'[25]

His method for varying repeated musical materials also bypassed the present-day instinct to ornament. A critic remarked on Samuel's recording that he took more repeats than necessary in order to fill a side with the movement: 'I have doubts about Mr Samuel's method of making the Gigue fill a 12-in. side; he plays it through the usual way, with each half repeated, and then gives the whole again without repeats. Even so jolly a movement as this may go on too long by saying its say three times over.'[26] However, the record reveals that he was only performing the repeat scheme that appears in the Bach Society and Bischoff editions of the work, so perhaps listeners were so accustomed to hearing repeats omitted that a full performance, whether on record or in concert, seemed elongated.[27] The scheme of repeats in this movement should be noted. Samuel plays AABBAB. In the final iteration of A and B, the performance is less articulated, but the downbeats of bars 39, 41, and 43 are more accented dynamically. This is a rare example of the differences in character between repeats: instead of ornamenting with more notes, he is achieving differentiation with articulation in the service of a more 'brash' feel in the 'final straight line'. In the final group, metrical accents are stronger and more pronounced. The variety which Samuel creates in the other versions is less carefully shaped.

25. *The Daily Telegraph*, 16 January 1937.

26. *The Musical Times*, October 1928: 909.

27. N.B. Czerny's edition features only an AABB schema, and this may be evidence of its influence on the collectively accepted idea of what Bach should sound like in the early twentieth century.

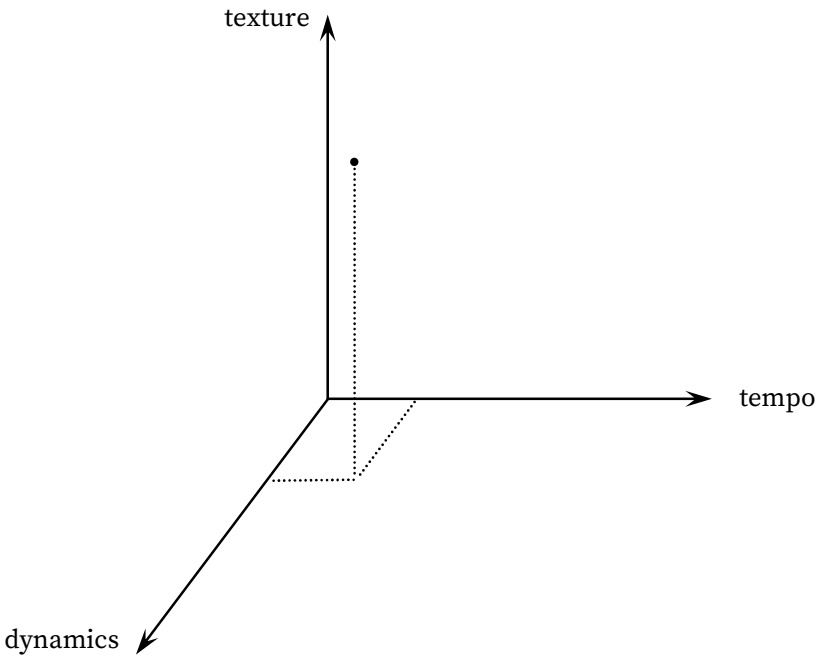


Figure 7.9. Samuel on the model

Samuel's case is another that cries out for a description more nuanced than 'modernist'. The three-dimensional model shown in Figure 7.9 can thus account for his smaller and more targeted uses of rhythmic fluctuation, his dynamics shaped primarily by accentuation, (when compared to Cohen and Howard-Jones), but also his liberal use of the piano's possibilities, which is a common point between him and his contemporaries considered in this chapter.

Counterpoint

A general feature that motivates a longitudinal comparison of these three pianists is the treatment of counterpoint. As a general rule, all three, perhaps to differing extents, give accentuation to subject entries in fugues. This is true in particular of entries in the bass or inner voices, or in cases where the fugue subject is transformed, such as the inversion of the subject in the Fugue in F-sharp minor Book I. One parameter that differentiates them is the use of tempo to accompany what could be called contrapuntal densification. In this particular triumvirate, Cohen tends more than the others to slow down when there are more voices in play in the context of a stretto, or generally when the fugue subject is being

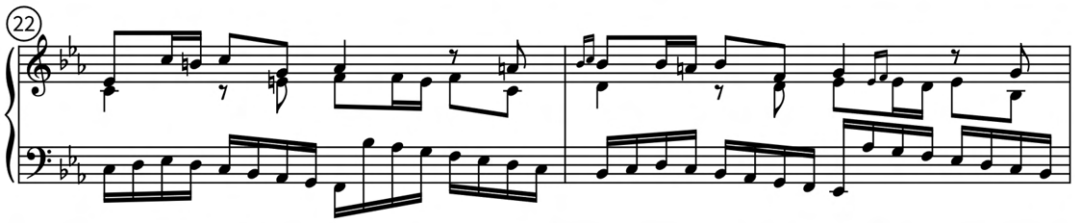
played: the harmonic episodes in certain fugues tend to rush forward, only to be held back by the subject entry.

That Cohen was singled out for a didactic approach to Bach pianism[28] might be puzzling to a present-day observer, as all the pianists considered in this chapter tend to give strong dynamic emphasis to fugue subjects. A possible explanation is that dynamics were not the only device with which she highlighted the subject. Her performance of the Fugue in C minor from Book 1 is interesting in part because it displays particularly strongly a systematic difference in tempo between statements of the subject and the episodes, which all move at a higher tempo than the subject entries. She does this as well in the Fugue in E-flat major. The subject is consistently slower than the episodes' modulating passages. To a limited extent, Howard-Jones makes a distinction between subject entries that is recognisable when compared with Cohen's, but differs in extent. In the Fugue in F minor, the brief episode at bars 31 to 33 are somewhat hurried, but this does not appear to be a consistent device. This is present as well in the Fugue in G minor: bar 4 moves forward slightly, but the discrepancy is not systematic in the same way as it is in some of Cohen's fugues. The tempo is, however, significantly altered at the stretto in bars 28 to 30, where he slows down. A difference may be observed between the performances of Howard-Jones and Cohen. In bars 25 and 26 of the same fugue, the interplay of the countersubject material leading to the stretto is attended to and melodically involved in a way that may have been 'cast off' at a faster tempo by a hypothetical Cohen or Kempff.

Howard-Jones's performances of the Fugues in F minor and F-sharp minor from Book I also give some indications that he attended to countersubject material in a way that is perhaps more 'balanced', or that does not show a consistently differentiated treatment of subject, countersubject, and episode. For example, the entry covering bars 47 to 50 of the Fugue in F minor draws interest away from the now familiar subject to the increasingly antiphonal patterns of rising semiquavers in bars 48 and 49. In the Fugue in F-sharp minor, in bars 25 to 27, the alto voice playing the countersubject is relatively evenly weighted against the soprano voice articulating the subject. The countersubject is accented in its final appearance in bar 39.

28. e.g. *The Musical Times*, April 1929: 327.

Samuel shows much less tempo flexibility than the other two performers. In the Fugue in C minor, there is no moving forward in the episodes, nor any holding back at subject entries. The articulation of the Fugue is very different from Cohen's, or indeed from that suggested in Tovey's editorial remarks about the movement, advocating 'a clearness and resourcefulness of phrasing attainable only in a *legato cantabile* style.'[29] Samuel plays the semiquavers non-legato and the quavers detached. In the countersubject material featuring an ascending scale, the final tied note is accented and creates rhythmic texture. In the episodes, the imitative entry is accented from the anacrusis (i.e. bar 9, quaver 4 in the alto voice). There is even a small ornament when this returns at bar 22 and 23 (Example 7.15).



Example 7.15. Fugue in C minor (Book I) with notated ornamentation as performed by Samuel.

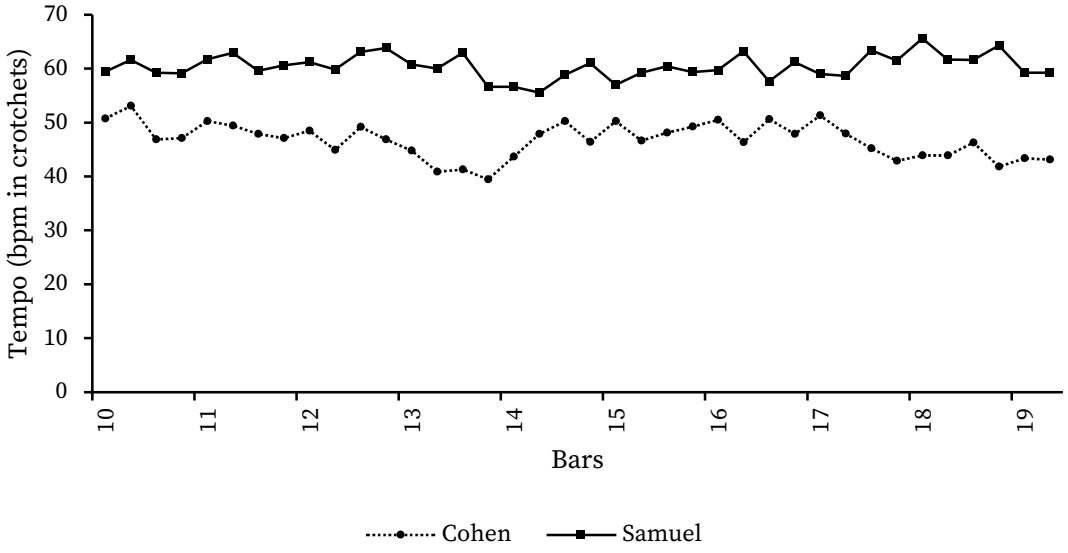
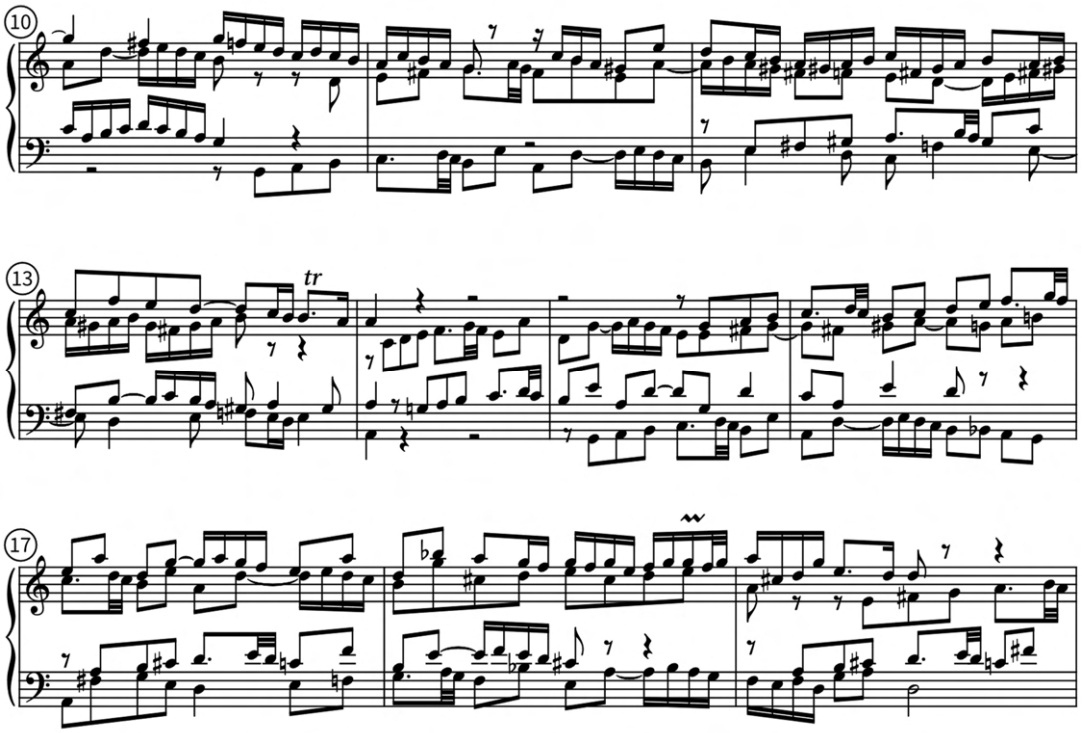


Figure 7.10. Tempo comparison of Samuel and Cohen's performances of the stretto in the Fugue in C major (Book I) BWV 846

29. Tovey 1924a: 9.

One can compare, as is done in Figure 7.10, the treatment of the stretto (see Example 7.16), in which many different subject entries overlap, to illustrate this conception of counterpoint with tempo inflexion. In the Fugue in C major, Cohen uses a slowing of tempo to convey emphasis where several subject statements happen in an overlapping stretto, such as in bars 10 to 13, starting with the bass entry. The tempo dips significantly as the texture grows thicker at the approach of the cadence, and then returns after the cadence on the downbeat of bar 14. Samuel slows at the cadences, but continues and even accelerates through the second stretto.



Example 7.16. Notation of the two stretto passages displayed in Figure 7.10.

Implications of Instrumental Metaphors

However much they might suffer from their impressionistic nature and vagueness, categories such as ‘harpsichordistic’, ‘pianistic’, ‘colourful’, or ‘structural’ cannot be thrown out altogether, as they potentially guide the approach to data extracted through Sonic Visualiser.

In parallel with the growing interest for recreating eighteenth-century instruments in the 1920s, discussions also appeared in the press about what insights disclosed by the harpsichord’s distinct affordances could be applied to Bach performance *on the piano*.

These discussions raised, among other things, the possibility that variety may be created using parameters such as articulation rather than the hitherto standard devices of tempo and dynamics:

> Phrasing is obtained by oppositions of *legato, loure,* detached effects, united with violin bowings. In spite of its feebleness of sound the clavecin is sensitive to legato and staccato by reason of its great distinctness of attack and notwithstanding the fact that the action of the dampers is not always very effective in the basses. In the [seventeenth] century considerable praise was lavished on Champion de Chambonnières's 'soft, velvety playing', which could be obtained only by a perfect *legato*. Owing to those alternations of *pleins* and *déliés* given by phrasing, we can obtain from the pianoforte a lively, elegant style, instead of the mechanical monotony which makes Bach so tiresome and annoying to the Philistines.[30]

Reading this with the benefit of the observations in Chapter 6 and the three-dimensional model, one should experience a flash of recognition: alternations of '*pleins*' and '*déliés*', 'opposition of *legato* and *loure* effects' – this brings the reader some way in considering exactly what features a 'harpsichordistic' performance on the piano might present. We even have a few candidates such as Scharrer, who are promising examples of a syncretic Bach pianism that is harpsichordistic while being flexible and variegated.

For possibilities of 'organistic playing', we may examine Donald Francis Tovey's accompanying remarks for the Prelude and Fugue in A minor from Book I of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*:

> If Bach used a pedal-board or a third hand (playing, of course, 'with a 16-foot tone' – i.e. adding a lower octave) in this Fugue, it entered not merely on the final organ-point, but already as the bass of the chords beginning with the pause. The notes here added in small print thus represent not a pianoforte modernisation, but the actual facts of the case.[31]

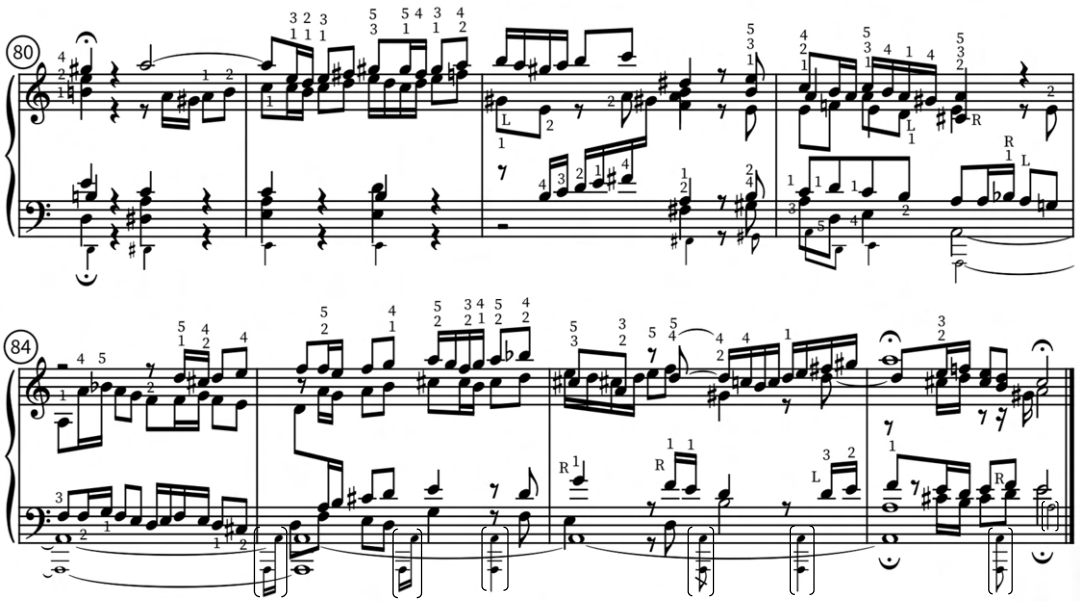
For the sake of illustration, a short excerpt of the passage in question is reproduced in example 7.17. The octave coupling in the bass line continues until, a few bars later, Tovey's realisation is far beyond the normally expected capabilities of a pianist. About this, he remarks that 'the player can use either a score-reader's *arpeggio*-skips … or get a friend to lend a third hand.'[32] This places in context Cohen's performance of the Prelude in C-sharp minor from Book I (see Example 7.6). There is strong evidence to suggest that this Bach

30. *The Musical Times,* April 1924: 353. Italics as in the original. The review is by Alexandre Cellier, who was an organist and composer (Honegger 1986: 222–3). It is likely that he was acquainted with Harvey Grace if he was publishing in *The Musical Times*.

31. Tovey 1924a: 129.

32. Ibid.

performance practice was emerging from a musical culture that had a variety of influences – in terms of its intellectual tradition, its instrumental allusions, and its wider ethos about the performers' agency to make such judgements.



Example 7.17. Fugue in A minor from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* Book I, bb. 83 to end as printed in Tovey 1924.[33]

This set of connections makes the task of discussing the 'orchestral', the 'harpsichordistic', or the purely pianistic in the context of Bach pianism a not entirely hopeless challenge. These three pianists have widely differing attitudes to the temporal unfolding of their performances and appear to hold equally varied motivations. One strong commonality, however, is the rich palette of pianistic colours that Cohen, Howard-Jones, and Samuel employed. Indeed, figures such as Walter Gieseking or Blanche Selva are only tangentially or parenthetically mentioned in this investigation, but a similarly thoroughgoing analysis of their Bach recordings would likely yield insights very different from those found here. Selva, as mentioned before, recorded Bach with variegated articulations in a way that is reminiscent of the kind of harpsichordistic playing alluded to above, but also with wide variations in tempo. In this respect, she may be shown to have commonalities with Irene Scharrer. Although the British pianists seen here have shown themselves to cluster on the variegated, pianistic side of the 'dynamics' spectrum, this is by no means the only position that was held at the time. Gieseking was famously restrained in his use of pianistic devices

33. N.B. The typographical scheme of small notes and brackets reproduces the appearance of Tovey 1924a exactly.

as well as tempo. The three-dimensional model of dynamics, tempo, and texture has also allowed for the uncovering of both unexpected differences and unexpected commonalities. Returning to the different visions of Bach reviewed in Chapter 2, Cohen, Samuel, and Howard-Jones seem representative of three such *Bach-Bilder*. When juxtaposing Cohen's recordings to the reception history of oratorio and its Handelian grandeur, certain commonalities emerge.[34] Similarly, Howard-Jones appears to exemplify in this comparison of approaches a kind of academic rigour that does not necessarily eschew nineteenth-century expressive norms such as tempo fluctuation or long-line phrasing, for example, but concerns itself with counterpoint, varying phrase-length, and harmonic interest. Samuel, partly due to his interest in dance forms and use of accentuation seems to incarnate here the modern twentieth-century Bach that Charles Stanford Terry was alluding to since the discovery of the Suites and the Brandenburg concertos.

Finally, it should be remembered that the three-dimensional model is a tool to conceive of a relative weighting of priorities, rather than an instrument for determining a quantitative measurement. An important finding here is that pianists are not uniformly expressive of any single tendency. They recombine variables depending on the requirements of the repertoire they are performing. One should therefore represent Bach pianism in terms of the relationships and permutations between these factors. In this state of affairs, where the pianists appear to 'mix and match', there are striking similarities between the recorded performances seen in this chapter and the observations made in Chapter 4 on Tovey's editorial practice. Out of a range of possibilities, a composite and eclectic result is achieved.

34. See Chapter 8, note 7.

8. History and Pluralism in Performance

This dissertation has looked to diverse materials and called upon a variety of methodologies in search of a certain idea of Bach and a certain idea of performance. Two general insights are to be drawn from the specifics of this demonstration. The first is that performances and performance-related activities play an essential role in 'fleshing out' the identity of a composer in any given time and place – in this case, Bach in interwar Britain. The other is that these performance activities themselves emerge from broader musical culture – from what Fabian called multi-modal and dynamic systems,[1] encompassing a plethora of agents and sources.

In this final chapter, I discuss how the connections between these elements form a contribution to knowledge that exceeds the sum of their separate insights. This is demonstrated in two ways. I begin by reviewing the specific agents and sources that have been examined in the previous chapters and, considering them together, I reflect on how this unique kind of history-writing can inform novel and useful strategies for better understanding the past. Then, I offer a personal account, as a performer, of how history in its most broadly conceived sense can inform a performance approach through non-linear, complex, and imaginative paths.

An examination of reception was necessary to characterise the various pre-existing views of Bach that coincided in the conservatoires that trained the performers of the interwar era. Here the accounts of musicians and thinkers situated him in a way that reflect this coexistence of views. It is especially informative to bear in mind that within the pluralism of editing and performing, the reception of the often maximalist editions and transcriptions by German musicians such as Reger and Busoni was conditioned by the experience of the First World War, while Bach's music itself continued to be heard and celebrated. This brings valuable nuance to the supposition that there was a single and homogeneous editorial approach (along with its consequences in performance).

The description of Harold Samuel's Bach Weeks situated Bach in the context of concert culture and journalistic criticism. The sensationalist format of the composer-

1. Fabian 2015: 274.

centric festivities may have placed attention squarely on the composer at the expense of the performer – on the work at the expense of the act – but the various accounts from critics and the audience reactions that these suggest make these events interesting in their own right, particularly as they were later credited by Ferguson with having popularised the un-transcribed keyboard works on the concert stage. To discover that Samuel's performances and the works that he showcased were discussed using ethically charged discourse shines a new light on the recordings later examined in Chapter 7.

As much as performances and acts have had scholarly attention lavished upon them in recent years, it was crucial to a holistic understanding of this 'certain idea of Bach', or constellations thereof, from the 1920–35 era to examine how the text itself was approached. Tovey's own use of collage between differing readings, his reliance on analytical or other intuitive instincts, shows an editorial practice that has unsuspected links to the values, priorities, and processes of performance.

The exploration of gramophone culture clarified which works were recorded and listened to, and how the records as material objects entered into the pre-existing habits of music enjoyment. Various points of continuity were uncovered between the early gramophone and live performance, such as the collective experience of music through the 'recitals' of gramophone societies and the plethora of criticism and commentary. The efforts of personalities such as Compton Mackenzie to promote what was then portrayed as serious, intellectual music are important to understanding the place of Bach and other canonical composers in this era. The record criticism encountered in *The Gramophone* and elsewhere showed how early the terms of what would become a very long-lasting debate gained common usage: namely, the question of the degrees of licence and expressivity that were appropriate for a Bach recording.

Comparing and assessing recordings was an indispensable element of this dissertation because it afforded the possibility of discussing the sounding traces of performances. In this span of the project, I was able to propose an approach for describing and assessing Bach pianism in such a way that responds to the unique features exhibited by these recordings. To acknowledge the complex nature of Bach pianism as it was practised by this group of performers and the non-uniform way in which permutations of articulation, tempo, and dynamics can be used helps to develop more qualitatively refined ways to categorise and describe these performances. This can be

done while avoiding the pitfalls of letting data analysis distract from the search for musically meaningful conclusions, however multi-faceted these conclusions may be.

All of these perspectives, in their own ways, concentrically strive towards a certain idea of Bach, which was one of the chief aims of the project. With all due caution about repeating the mistakes of a Hegelian *Geistgeschischte*,[2] with tidy spokes all pointing to a unified *Zeitgeist*,[3] lessons can still be learned from a historical method that embraces diverse materials in its search for a more complete understanding of history. In this exploration, we may not have cornered a *single* or definitive 'British Bach of the 1920s and 1930s', but we have at our disposal, coming away from the exercise, a number of different *personae* that have incarnated Bach in the minds and ears of British musicians and listeners. Without brutalising the facts to marshal them into convenient arrangements, we can still coax out of them some informative patterns.

The studies on reception have provided us with a few different Bachs. There is Bach the organist, in whose footsteps Wesley followed. There is the composer of oratorios, set alongside Mendelssohn and Handel by the choral society movement in the later nineteenth century. Then there is the disciplined classicist and forebear of Beethoven and Brahms that Parry and Stanford championed. Some later reactions, alluding to 'the pedantic Victorian organ recitals and oratorio culture', or 'bitter medicine to be taken to make one better',[4] illustrate how these nineteenth-century conceptions of the composer remained topical in the twentieth. For others such as Henry Wood, Bach represented a fresh start.[5] In the interwar years, writers such as F.H. Shera went so far as to compare the renewed interest in the Brandenburg concertos and orchestral suites with the vogue for 'reiterated rhythmical figures' and the appeal of dance music.[6] Moreover, these facts serve as important reminders that the list of Bachs outlined above does not refer to an evolutionary chronological unfolding, but to a cumulative process of proliferating and simultaneous understandings of the composer's significance.

Such characterisations constitute a valuable tool for considering the way Bach was played then, because *the performances did not occur in a vacuum*. Criticism, especially

2. See Chapter 1, note 72.
3. As caricatured by Gombrich in Figure 1.1.
4. Langley 2007: 70. See also Chapter 2, note 93.
5. Ibid.
6. *The Listener*, 26 August 1936: 411. See also French 2014.

record criticism, proves useful for bridging the gap between performance and cultural context. For example, one may analyse and pick apart any number of parameters in Harriet Cohen's Bach recordings, but something is missing if one passes over accounts of her performance's 'Handelian grandeur'.[7] When one reads in the same review how 'the quietly bustling counterpoint [is] delicately proportioned to the leading part', something is missing if one does not imagine the 'quiet bustling' of a choir or an orchestra. It is all the more difficult to come to musically meaningful conclusions if one does not realise how Cohen's performing was – directly or indirectly – enriched by the Bach of oratorio culture.

According to the received history of performance style in the twentieth century, Samuel's recordings could perhaps be described as early examples of the streamlined, metrical modernism that would flourish in the later twentieth century. However, this reasoning encounters another of the Hegelian traps discussed in Chapter 1 because it searches for linear progress where such a finding is not a foregone conclusion. Looking more closely at Samuel's recorded performances, as I have done in Chapter 7, one discovers how metrical features such as the accentuation schema in Figure 7.12 connect with the imagery of dancing, vigour, and simplicity in reviews of his Bach Weeks seen in Chapter 3, but also why the testimony of figures such as Wood, Shera, and Hubert Foss could have seen in Bach a kindred spirit of the twentieth-century listener.[8]

This overview reminds one of the dissertation's central aims in terms of writing history. The interconnectedness of reception, discourse, and performance here avoids the perilous outcomes (a) of a monolithic history, and (b) of an anarchical mass of detail. I can leave the reader with the salient typologies that were articulated here, knowing that they make potentially meaningful connections between the way Bach was thought of and the way his music was played.

What use might this be to performers? It depends on which kind of performer. According to the narrowest understanding of historically informed performance, this research project undoubtedly presents bewildering discontinuities between repertoire and performance practice. In any case, attempts to emulate or imitate early twentieth-century Bach pianism as it was practised in Britain are likely to be hindered by the paucity of data

7. *The British Musician & Musical News,* October 1935: 235.

8. See also Chapter 2, note 120.

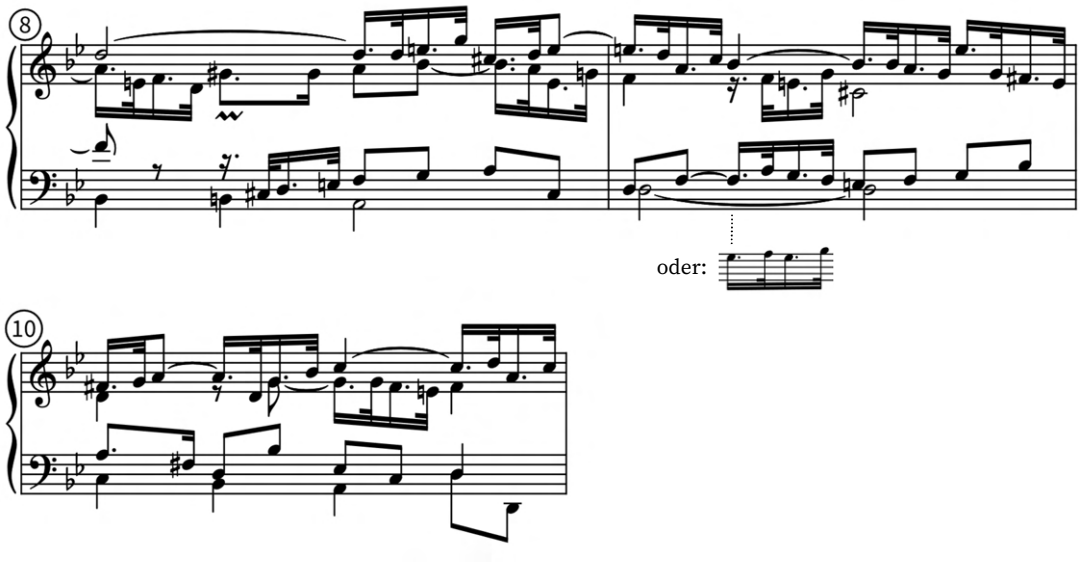
and the stylistic heterogeneity of this period. But this thesis should not be faulted for failing to accomplish something that it never set out to do. At this point, it is worth recalling Cook's observation (quoted in the introduction) that the 'golden age' of piano is worthy of interest because of its brave spirit of pluralism rather than for the rehabilitation of any of its stylistic approaches.[9] In the following paragraphs I explore possibilities for a more indirect, inclusive, and thoughtful conception of what it means to be informed. In this exercise, I draw on personal experience as a performer to illustrate how this information-gathering can enter into a broader interpretative conception without necessarily striving to recreate or imitate.

In the first month of being enrolled as a prospective doctoral candidate, I attempted to recreate a 'romantic' Bach, as Edwin Fischer might have performed it or as Busoni might have edited it. This endeavour was initially guided by general observations about 'romantic' style, such as the doubling of certain lines or the thickening of chords. In fashioning this particular pastiche, I had also been mindful of the need for more flexible tempo and, generally, a less shy expressive palette. Predictably, this attempt did not quite prove satisfactory. With hindsight, I have identified some problems with this way of emulating the 'romantic' Bach. These problems should attract the notice of more than just performers because they apply to a broader way of *conceiving* of the 'romantic' performance practice – and indeed to ways of conceiving of performance itself. The first problem is to reduce the wide variety of approaches to a few somewhat stereotyped traits. It is true that doubling octaves and thickening chords is a stimulating way to experiment with radical freedom, but it invites the danger of a performance which does not completely cohere with itself: when one has finished doubling the octaves at a key moment, or after one has enlarged a cadence with sonorous chords, one inevitably goes back to one's 'normal' or default Bach playing. This gives these devices the character of an intervention that is merely 'added on', something which is not actually a part of the piece. By attempting this, one becomes all the more ensnared in the same old quasi-Cartesian dualism of work and performance that we were trying to escape in the first place: the moment one begins to suspect that the performance and the piece are not made out of the same stuff, then 'the music' breaks apart like a failed mayonnaise. Such a performance both creates and brings attention to its own awkward artificiality, and consequently, the

9. See Introduction, note 32 and corresponding quotation.

work escapes again into the platonic ether of idealised forms. Putting on a romantic costume is therefore not a viable course of action for what I am attempting.

Moreover, to be more expressive and flexible with tempo is all very well, but there is no dial on which one can simply 'turn up the expression'. It requires something more by way of a clear motivation or general idea that would tie together pacing, phrasing, and any textual alterations. The many facets of the imaginative vocabulary of performers and listeners, as explored in Chapters 2 to 7, allow one to uncover possibilities for such a unifying 'general idea' that might seed a performance. Understanding more holistically the underlying assumptions and motivations that enter into a performance approach – particularly one that may be idiomatically foreign to a classically trained musician who has a different set of shorthands and instinctual reactions to the text – can help to free one from imitation based on observations. This approach is, in many ways, a practical demonstration of Rink's 'refraction model' as shown in Figure 1.3.[10] Rather than emulating a performance, however defined, the motivation can then become to sympathetically reconstruct – or creatively reimagine – the various elements to the right of Figure 1.3 as the performers experienced them.

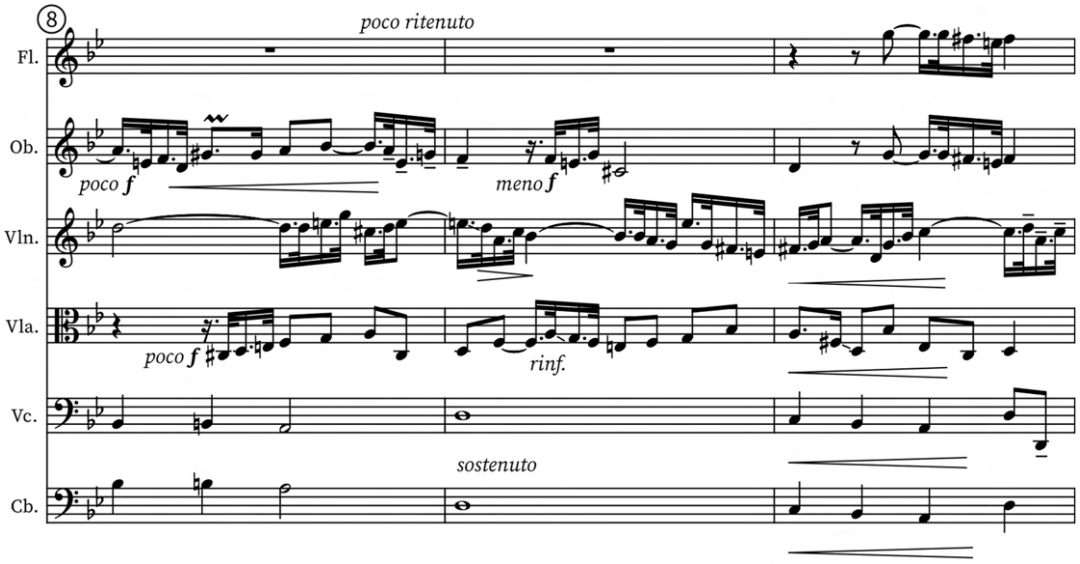


Example 8.1. Prelude in G minor from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (Book II) as it appears in BGA[11]

10. Rink 2004: 48.

11. BGA 14: 154. Differences with Bischoff are typographical rather than substantive. In bar 8, quaver 1, Bischoff prints the tenor voice in the treble clef. In bar 9, there is the same choice of

Take, for example, the short passage shown in Example 8.1, from the Prelude in G minor from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* Book II. Instead of finding lines to double in octaves, harmonies to thicken, or phrases to emphasise through tempo fluctuation, I propose to imagine first the orchestration given in Example 8.2. While the editorial annotations suggest a performance practice resembling that of some early recordings,[12] the notation and orchestration might conceivably be found in an original orchestral work of Bach. In Example 8.2, there is only one violin part, which is reminiscent of the single ripieno violin in the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto BWV 1050. In his edition of this work, Max Reger labels the part as 'Violins 1 and 2', maintaining the nineteenth-century conventions of orchestral scoring, but he specifies that there should be as many violas as the combined forces of violins.[13] Rather than being an orchestration per se, Example 8.2 attempts to notate how an early twentieth-century ensemble would have performed the passage, had it appeared in an orchestral work. With most instruments playing comparatively low in their range,



Example 8.2. Prelude in G minor from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (Book II)
my orchestration

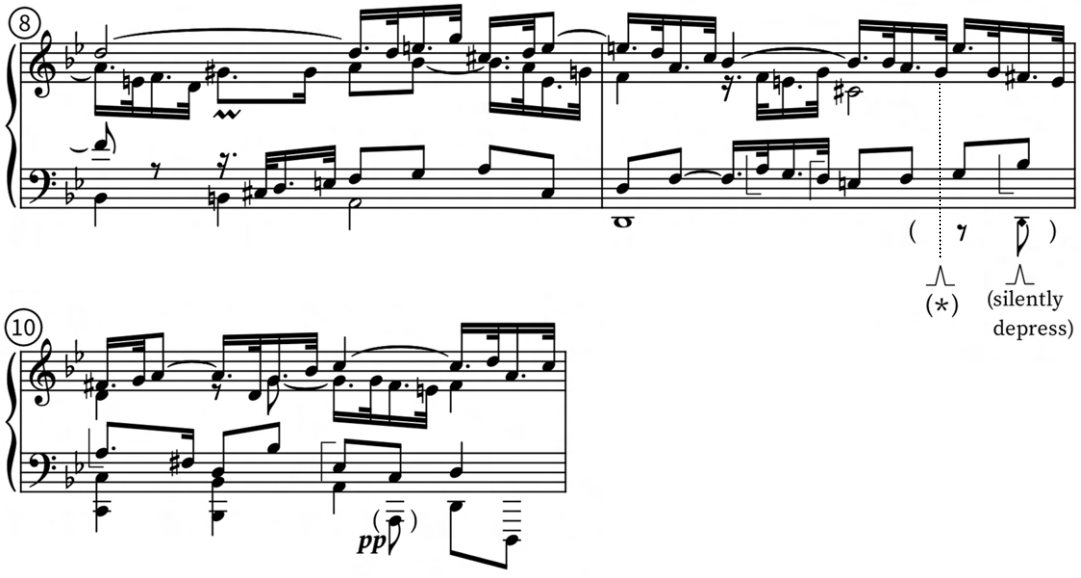
main text and ossia, but Bischoff also prints another reading attributed to Hoffmeister in a footnote (Bischoff 1884: 74).

12. Though the most oft-cited (and extreme) examples include Mengelberg's 1939 broadcast of the *St Matthew Passion* or Furtwängler's Fifth Brandenburg Concerto from 1950, I was mainly remembering the character of the Roth Quartet's recording of the *Art of Fugue* (1934–5), Fischer's orchestration of the Ricercar a 6 from the *Musical Offering* (1933), and Albert Coates's prewar Bach recordings, notably the Fantasia from his recording of the Fantasia and Fugue in C minor BWV 537, orchestrated by Elgar (1928).

13. Reger 1915: 1.

and the numerical predominance of lower strings, the overall effect towards which I am gesturing in this notated example is that of a dark and full-bodied tone-colour. The two portamentos that I have written into the viola part are there to draw attention to a certain melodic intensity in the middle of the texture.

There is a wide range of consequences that may be drawn when one returns to the piano from this imaginative excursion. One need not change the text at all. Perhaps imagining the cellos and double basses holding the bass note in bar 9, or thinking of the melodic intensity of the inner parts as manifested in an orchestral performance, can be enough to enrich a performance without making any changes to the notes in the score. But this exercise can also inform imaginative interventions that take into account overall effect and motivations rather than reproduce conventions that have been identified in archival recordings, editions, and piano rolls.



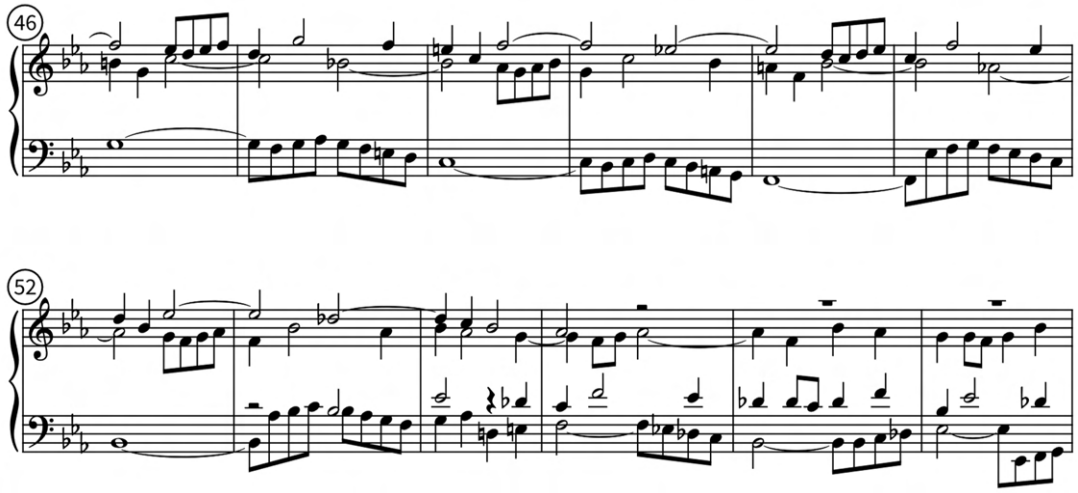
Example 8.3. Prelude in G minor from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (Book II)
my arrangement
* Hold the D until the pedal change and release if necessary to reach the g.

I have provided, for the sake of experiment, a moderately interventionist 'Bearbeitung' of my own in Example 8.3. Notice first how I opt for the text as it appears in BGA and Bischoff, which reflects the *ante correcturam* state of the autograph. There is no philological reason for this: it merely allows me to hold the bass note an octave lower, to render on the piano the orchestration's effect of dark, full-bodied tone. The D can be maintained with some careful and inventive pedalling, as notated. There is, however, something of a problem: the bass line cannot continue in octaves because of the

disposition of the voices in crotchet 3 of bar 10. Here, an element of auditory misdirection can enter into play. The first two crotchets of the bass line in bar 10 can be doubled, but voiced with a slightly stronger tone in the upper note of the octave. This crudely approximates the effect of a descending Shepard tone on the listener's perception. This makes the A on beat 3 appear to follow on from the B and not from the B♭. In addition to this, the re-entry of the alto voice in the fourth quaver of bar 10 can be given a strong accent, attracting attention away from the descending bass line (reflecting the flute entry in the orchestration). The A♭ can be added in the sixth quaver of the bar very quietly, for added colour. Crucially, such an exercise can avoid the quality of 'premeditated gimmick', and although I have only shown a few bars, such a process of imaginative orchestration can permeate the whole movement even if the text itself is left (mostly) unchanged.

Even if one protests that, to begin with, there is no reason for which one should want to perform Bach like early twentieth-century pianists, it is illuminating to interrogate performance practices and unexamined assumptions about how the music should sound. This sort of interrogation might ideally be seen as part and parcel of a performer's work, which is to say that the practice-based research undertaken in this thesis could serve as a model for the actual practice of musicians. We have seen the freedom with which Tovey combined readings on the basis of general effect or coherence, and the flexibility with which performers such as Cohen or Howard-Jones, though more to be classified as proto-modernists, would recombine and permutate their approaches in terms of tempo, dynamics, and flexibility to suit the character that they were trying to evoke. Similarly, one can, for the sake of experiment, try out options – not just performance approaches, but ways of conceiving of the music – until one is satisfied, and the result need not bear resemblance to any *single* performance practice of the past.

See for instance the excerpt of the Fugue in E-flat major from Book II shown in Example 8.4. Although one could if one wanted to, it is not necessary to deploy the full pianistic arsenal in order to experiment with the possibilities of this passage. First, an interpretative challenge: the same short fragment of material is repeated in several different keys until the subject entry in the tenor in the second half of bar 53.



Example 8.4. Fugue in E-flat major (Book II)

There are of course many different ways of getting this passage to 'work': it is all dependent on the kinds of expectations that the performance sets up. One that seemed apposite was loosely inspired from Cohen's habits: to give broader emphasis (in both tempo and dynamics) to moments of contrapuntal interest. The last statement of the left hand's quaver countersubject can slow down and crescendo into the b-flat that begins the subject in the tenor register. One could prepare the whole passage with a long decrescendo throughout bars 46–52. This is a way to freely take inspiration from performance habits of 1920s pianists without necessarily setting out to emulate them.

From a single score, one may wish to try different treatments that are possible, based on the model of Bach pianism developed in Chapter 6. This is different from the attempt mentioned above because, rather than 'adding on' something, one is endeavouring to begin from a broader conception of Bach pianism and proceed from there to a performance. With the Prelude in C minor from Book II, one can play from different 'areas' in the three-dimensional space, as shown in Figure 8.1. The labelled points in the figure reflect some of the pianists that have been seen in Chapters 6 and 7: (a) a Gieseking type, (b) Samuel, (c) Scharrer or Backhaus, and (d) Cohen. Crucially, I do not try to imitate the pianists themselves, but the area of the model that they represent.[14]

14. For example, (a) would correspond to an approach with metrical rather than melodic tempo variation, finger articulation rather than pianistic devices as a way to variegate texture, and sectional rather than continuous changes in dynamics. In (b) there is a similar but less strict approach to tempo and dynamics, but with a more frankly pianistic use of texture (in terms of thickening or thinning the overall sound of the instrument). A (c) approach would have melodic variegation and continuously phrased dynamics, but finger articulation would

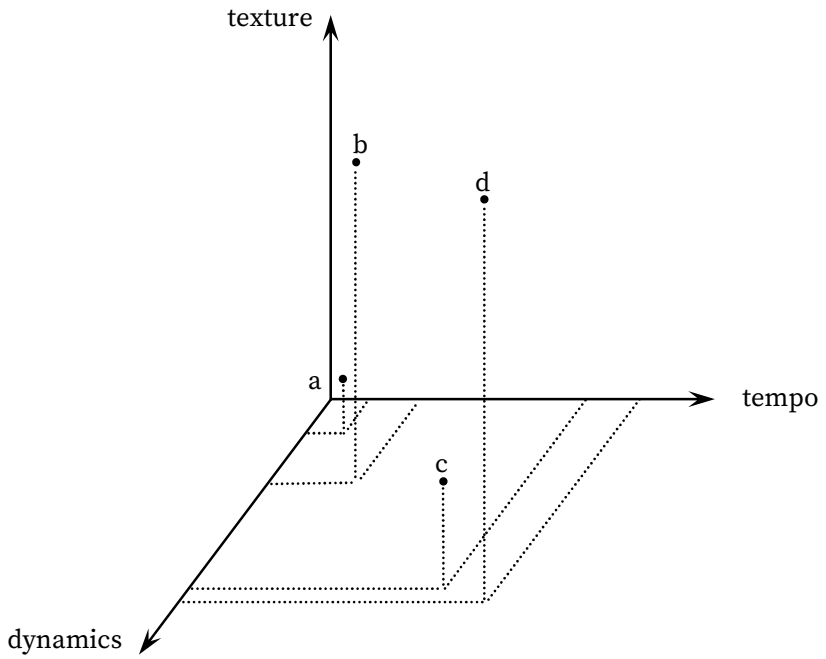
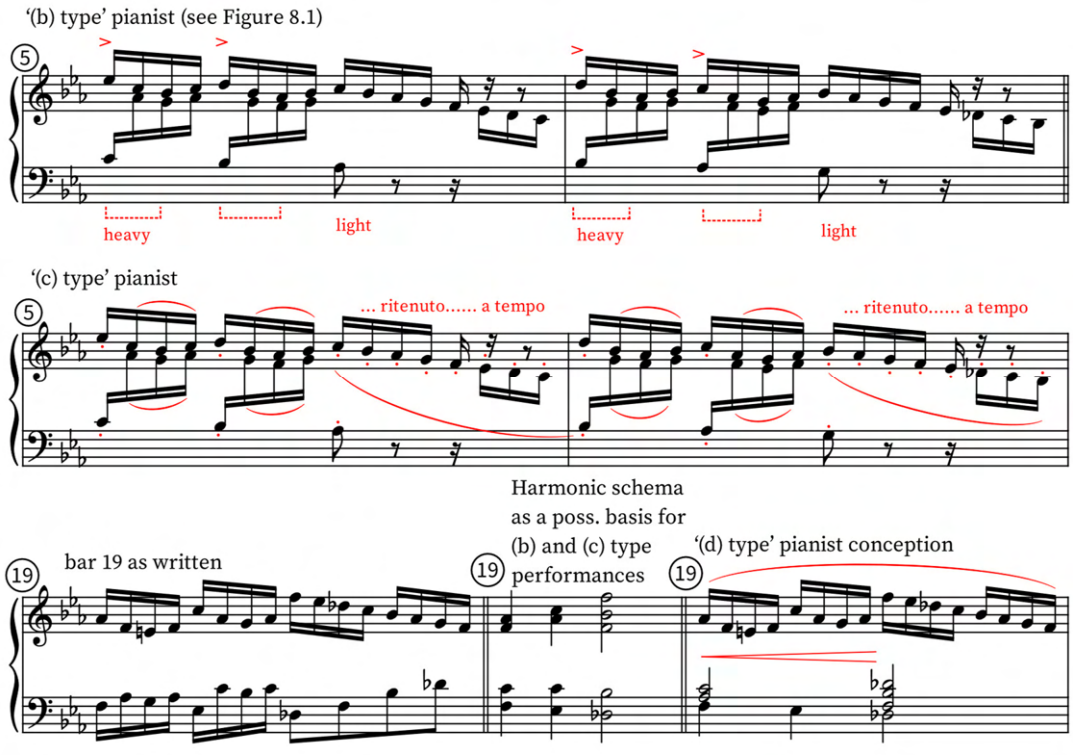


Figure 8.1. Possible approaches on the model (labels discussed in the text).[15]

Sitting down at the piano with (a) in mind, this performance is probably the closest to the way I have been taught to play Bach on the piano: very little pedal is used, the quavers are played detached, while the semiquavers are to be played in a slightly articulated legato, and the tempo remains relatively constant, except for small ritenutos at each double bar. For (b), I might think to create contrasts of texture in places like bars 5–6 or 19–20, as shown in Example 8.5, using finger sustain or even pedal (likely a combination of the two). Remaining with these two brief passages, a performance of the (c) type might articulate the line as shown while giving slight temporal emphasis. Taking the (d) approach, I would not only play legato in this movement but I would shape the phrases with time as well. This can come from an underlying conception of the piece as melodically intense rather than simply a change in a given parameter. Using bar 19, a passage closely analogous to bar 5 (Example 8.5), I show how such a melodic conception does not construe the notation as a richly embellished harmony, but as a melody that requires musical continuity rather than simply legato touch.

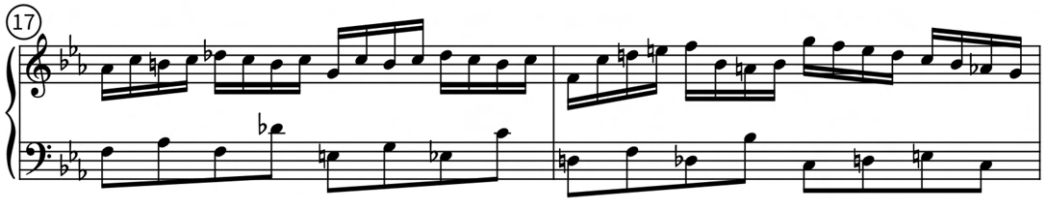
predominantly vary texture. Finally, in (d), there would be a melodically shaped variety of tempo, continuously phrased dynamics, and a pianistic use of texture.

15. See Figure 6.21 for explanation of the diagrammatic representation.



Example 8.5. Annotated excerpts of the Prelude in C minor (Book II)
Annotations (in red) discussed in the text[16]

Such an approach would also stretch more chromatic passages such as bars 17–18, as shown in Example 8.6. Here, (a) and (b) would conceivably accent the bass line's descending chromaticism; (c) might phrase the semiquaver line in smaller gestures. But (d) would probably shape the more gnarled parts of the top line with tempo as well as legato.



Example 8.6. From the Prelude in C minor (Book II)

The investigations undertaken in Chapters 2 to 5 are therefore potentially a good deal more important than merely background material that supports the analyses of

16. The dotted pedal markings refer to a richer sound, achieved either through pedal, finger sustain or a combination of the two. See Example 7.12.

performances: they allow one to probe the imaginative universe of a musical culture that is different from one's own. With the complimentary insights of reception, editorial practice, and cultural history, combined with those of the three-dimensional model developed from the observations on recordings, one can avoid the dangers of arbitrarily inserting this or that interesting and antiquated performance trait into one's playing, and instead, engage with the past in more inventive and creative ways. Speaking on my own behalf, this exercise has allowed me to widen the scope of possibilities in my own Bach performance – with further possibilities of which I am not aware yet to emerge. Such an endeavour in information-gathering proposes a more pluralist way of being informed as a performer – gathering and synthesising sources of inspiration. Again, this goes well beyond the domain of 'Bach pianism' by offering a modus operandi for performers performing any repertoire, from any period, in any style. There is much that a twenty-first-century pianist will find interesting but not necessarily useful in what has been found, but the exploratory activity itself – the sympathetic exercise of inhabiting the other's musical experiences and listening to their listening – is a highly rewarding and beneficial process for any performer. This dissertation therefore proposes possible escape routes from the challenge outlined in the introduction: that of having a saner, less dissembling relationship to the past as a classical music performer.

As I have insisted upon at many points of this dissertation, the findings yielded by this work should be of interest both to performers and to scholars. I hope also that there is overlap between those two categories. After having mused on the significance of the findings with reference to highly personal and performance-centric criteria, I now move to discussing their contribution to a scholarly understanding of performance within history. As was discussed at length in Chapter 1, there are many reasons to approach monolithic histories with suspicion. A number of studies have helped to decentre totalising narratives through the use of recordings, concert culture, editions, and discourse to nurture revised thinking about music history and the canon. In pursuing a multi-perspectival approach – gathering evidence from disparate vantage points – this study follows in the footsteps of recognised predecessors. Fabian comments in support of this tactic:

> Music performance is too complex to be understood by any one approach. We need multi-modal and transdisciplinary, comprehensive accounts that are data-

> driven yet embraced the phenomenological and cultural if we wish to lessen the problem of verbalising an embodied aural experience.[17]

Where Fabian has employed a toolkit differing slightly from mine in its proportionally greater emphasis on positivist methodologies and theoretical frameworks from phenomenology, we reach a similar point when it comes to summing-up:

> If music performance is complex, should we just put it in the 'too hard' basket and give up studying it? Or should we accept that we can only study aspects of it and perhaps never be able to complete the jigsaw puzzle?[18]

Peres Da Costa comes to a similar conclusion – and uses the same metaphor – about the challenges of dealing with a range of phenomena such as performance that so persistently resist categorical interpretations:

> the question remains: is it really possible to form a reliable and consistent view of information about historical performing practices? Do we have access to enough pieces of what is after all a rather complex jigsaw puzzle?[19]

One – albeit temporary – solution to this problem is to accept that descriptions of and reflections on performance must remain contingent and tentative. Like the experience of music itself, one can grasp at relationships that one perceives, make connections, and contemplate the possibilities that multifarious materials offer the historian. This is how the work presented here proposes a novel take on music history: by constructing a history of performance that itself 'performs history' in new ways.

17. Fabian 2015: 25.
18. Ibid.: 287.
19. Peres Da Costa 2012: 26.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. London Performances of Selected Bach Keyboard Works

N.B. To facilitate pagination and formatting, notes are given at the end of this Appendix.

Date	Performer	Repertoire	Venue	Notes
15 April 1891	Fanny Frickenhaus	BWV 807 in A minor: Prelude, Gigue	St James's Hall	[1]
18 February 1893	Leonard Borwick	BWV 807 in A minor complete	St James's Hall	[2]
27 February 1893	Leonard Borwick	BWV 807 in A minor: '4 movements'	St James's Hall	[3]
24 May 1893	Muriel Elliot	'Suite in A minor' [poss. BWV 807 or 818]	St James's Hall	[4]
30 October 1893	Leonard Borwick	BWV 808 in G minor	St James's Hall	[5]
5 December 1893	Leonard Borwick	BWV 807 in A minor: Prelude	St James's Hall	[6]
11 January 1895	Leonard Borwick	BWV 807 in A minor	St James's Hall	[7]
11 February 1896	Margaret Pierrepont	BWV 807 in A minor: Prelude, Sarabande	St James's Hall	[8]
23 May 1901	Archibald Rosenthal	BWV 810 in E minor: Passepied		[9]
5 November 1901	Fanny Davies	BWV 807 in A minor		[10]
11 April 1905	Wanda Landowska	BWV 810 in E minor	Queen's Hall	[11]
14 December 1910	Donald Francis Tovey	BWV 810 in E minor	Bechstein Hall	[12]
7 June 1913	Ernst von Dohnányi	BWV 808 in G minor	Aeolian Hall	[13]
11 November 1914	Fanny Davies	BWV 807 in A minor	Bechstein Hall	[14]

Table A1.1 Reported Performances of the English Suites in London

Date	Performer	Repertoire	Venue	Notes
9 June 1890	Sophie Menter	BWV 816 in G major: ‘Prelude’ and Gigue		[15]
2 February 1892	Eduard Dannreuther	BWV 814 in B minor } [See notes]		[16]
21 January 1895	Ilona Eibenschütz	BWV 814 in B minor } [See notes]	St James’s Hall	[17]
16 February 1895	Gustave Pradeau	BWV 816 in G major	Princes’ Hall	[18]
8 November 1895	Leonard Borwick	BWV 817 in E major	St James’s Hall	[19]
29 February 1896	Leonard Borwick	BWV 817 in E major		[20]
23 May 1901	Archibald Rosenthal	BWV 816 in G major: Gigue		[21]
[?] May 1901	Arnold Dolmetsch	BWV 817 in E major: Gavottes and Gigue	Queen’s Small Hall	[22]
10 June 1902	Charles Williams	BWV 817 in E major		[23]
13 June 1906	Clotilde Kleeberg	BWV 816 in G major	Aeolian Hall	[24]
November 1907	Blanche Selva	BWV 816 in G major	Steinway Hall	[25]
1 October 1910	Wilhelm Backhaus	BWV 816 in G major	Queen’s Hall	[26]
8–11 January 1913	José Vianna da Motta	BWV 816 in G major		[27]

Table A1.2. Reported Performances of the French Suites in London, 1890–1920

Date	Performer	Repertoire	Venue	Notes
3 November 1890	Leonard Borwick	BWV 826 in C minor: ‘a movement’	St James’s Hall	[28]
2 February 1891	Ilona Eibenschütz	‘a movement’	St James’s Hall	[29]
23 March 1891	Dora Bright	BWV 825 in B-flat major	Princes’ Hall	[30]
7 December 1891	Leonard Borwick	BWV 826 in C minor	St James’s Hall	[31]
[?] November 1893	Lucie Hillier	BWV 825 in B-flat major [and BWV 829]	Princes’ Hall	[32]
23 February 1895	Leonard Borwick	BWV 825 in C minor	St James’s Hall	[33]
15 February 1896	Leonard Borwick	BWV 826 in C minor	St James’s Hall	[34]
7 April 1897	Elsie Hall	BWV 829 in G major	Steinway Hall	[35]
25 February 1899	Leonard Borwick	BWV 826 in C minor	St James’s Hall	[36]
25 June 1903	Margaret Wild	‘a Partita’	St James’s Hall	[37]
November 1907	Blanche Selva	BWV 825 in B-flat major	Steinway Hall	[38]
22 April 1911	José Vianna da Motta	BWV 830 in E minor	Bechstein Hall	[39]
13 December 1911	Donald Francis Tovey	BWV 830 in E minor	[Bechstaein Hall]	[40]
15 May 1919	Harold Samuel	BWV 825 in B-flat major	Aeolian Hall	[41]
21 June 1919	Harold Samuel	BWV 815 in B-flat major	Wigmore Hall	[42]

Table A1.3. Reported Performances of the Partitas in London, 1890–1920

Date	Performer	Venue	Notes
March 1891	Isaac Albeniz	St James's Hall	[43]
December 1891	Clotilde Kleeberg	Princes' Hall	[44]
[June 1893]	Mathilde Verne (a.k.a. Wurm)	St James's Hall	[45]
[October 1894]	Franz Rummel	St James's Hall	[46]
[February 1895]	Gustave Pradeau	Princes' Hall	[47]
[April 1895]	Mathilde Verne (a.k.a. Wurm)	Queen's Hall	[48]
[May 1895]	'Madame Augarde'	St James's Hall	[49]
23 November 1895	Clotilde Kleeberg	Crystal Palace	[50]
30 January 1896	Emma Barnett	Queen's Small Hall	[51]
[November 1896]	Johanna Heymann		[52]
[February 1897]	Leonard Borwick	St James's Hall	[53]
2 November 1897	Madeleine Ten Have		[54]
5 February 1898	Adela Verne	St James's Hall	[55]
10 March 1898	Mark Hambourg	St James's Hall	[56]
11 March 1898	Leonard Borwick	St James's Hall	[57]
5 July 1898	Wolodia Roujitzky	Salle Érard	[58]
23 January 1899	Leonard Borwick	St James's Hall	[59]
27 February 1899	Ernst von Dohnányi	St James's Hall	[60]
[May 1899]	Vernon Warner	St James's Hall	[61]
[May 1899]	Adela Verne	Queen's Hall	[62]
23 November 1899	Gwendolyn Toms	St James's Hall	[63]
[March 1900]	Leonard Bowick	St James's Hall	[64]
25 October 1900	Alfred Reisenauer		[65]
1 June 1901	J. A. Fuller-Maitland		[66]
5 June 1901	Vladimir de Pachmann		[67]
[February 1902]	Vladimir de Pachmann	St James's Hall	[68]
[February 1902]	Wilhelm Backhaus	St James's Hall	[69]
8 March 1902	Vladimir de Pachmann	Crystal Palace	[70]

Table A1.4. Reported Performances of the *Italian Concerto* in London, 1890–1920
(Part 1 of 2)

Date	Performer	Venue	Notes
[May 1902]	Vladimir de Pachmann	St James's Hall	[71]
[May 1902]	Raoul Pugno	Queen's Hall	[72]
13 June 1902	Constance Brandon-Usher	Brinsmead Galleries	[73]
[February 1903]	José Vianna da Motta	Bechstein Hall	[74]
18 March 1903	Helene Ansbacher	Bechstein Hall	[75]
23 May 1903	Vladimir de Pachmann	Bechstein Hall	[76]
[November 1904]	Archibald Rosenthal	Salle Érard	[77]
11 January 1905	Catherine Low	Steinway Hall	[78]
[April 1905]	Raoul Pugno	Aeolian Hall	[79]
19 March 1906	Emil von Sauer	Queen's Hall	[80]
5 June 1906	Jean du Chastin	Bechstein Hall	[81]
16 June 1906	Mark Hambourg	Queen's Hall	[82]
[October 1906]	Vigo Kihl	Steinway Hall	[83]
8 November 1906	Harold Bauer	Bechstein Hall	[84]
17 January 1907	Gottfried Galston	Bechstein Hall	[85]
[February 1907]	Vladimir de Pachmann	Bechstein Hall	[86]
5 October 1907	Wilhelm Backhaus	Bechstein Hall	[87]
30 May 1908	Wilhelm Backhaus		[88]
11 January 1909	James Friskin	Aeolian Hall	[89]
29 May 1909	Maurice Reeve	Bechstein Hall	[90]
16 December 1911	Max Pauer	Bechstein Hall	[91]
11 May 1912	Egon Petri	Aeolian Hall	[92]
[November 1913]	Ernst von Dohnányi		[93]
[June 1915]	Percy Waller	Bechstein Hall	[94]
15 June 1916	Adela Verne	Aeolian Hall	[95]
13 May 1919	Isabel Gray		[96]
7 July 1919	Ivan Phillipowsky		[97]

Table A1.4. Reported Performances of the *Italian Concerto* in London, 1890–1920 (Part 2 of 2)

Date	Performer	Venue	Notes
[February 1890]	Marian Bateman	Steinway Hall	[98]
[May 1890]	Franz Rummel	Steinway Hall	[99]
[May 1980]	Ignacy Jan Paderewski	St James's Hall	[100]
[May 1890]	Else Sonntag	Steinway Hall	[101]
12 July 1890	Mark (a.k.a. Max) Hambourg	Princes' Hall	[102]
[October 1890]	Brahm van den Berg	Princes' Hall	[103]
[November 1890]	Isodore Pavia	St James's Hall	[104]
14 November 1890	Jeanne Douste	Princes' Hall	[105]
March 1891	Jeanne Douste		[106]
[May 1891]	Radolf Loman	Steinway Hall	[107]
15 May 1891	Ilona Eibenschütz	Princes' Hall	[108]
29 May 1891	Frank Howgrave	Steinway Hall	[109]
[June 1891]	Olga Vulliet	Princes' Hall	[110]
[June 1891]	Frederick Dawson	Steinway Hall	[111]
17 May 1892	Mark Hambourg	Steinway Hall	[112]
14 June 1892	Ignacy Jan Paderewski	St James's Hall	[113]
[June 1892]	Edgar Hulland	Princes' Hall	[114]
16 June 1892	Else Sonntag	Steinway Hall	[115]
[December 1892]	Jeanne Douste	Princes' Hall	[116]
14 January 1894	Clotilde Kleeberg	St James's Hall	[117]
4 July 1893	Alfred James Hipkins	Barnard's Inn Old Hall	[118]
24 May 1893	Muriel Elliot	St. James's Hall	[119]
31 May 1893	Margarethe Eussert	Princes' Hall	[120]
29 May 1893	Otto Hegner		[121]
[July 1893]	Alfred James Hipkins		[122]
16 October 1893	Fanny Davies	St James's Hall	[123]
31 October 1893	Ignacy Jan Paderewski	St James's Hall	[124]
[November 1893]	Thérésa Gerardy	St James's Hall	[125]

Table A1.5. Reported Performances of the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue* in London, 1890–1920 (Part 1 of 4)

Date	Performer	Venue	Notes
[April 1894]	Frederick Dawson	St James's Hall	[126]
25 April 1894	'Miss St Angelo'	Steinway Hall	[127]
[June 1894]	Leonard Borwick	St James's Hall	[128]
[June 1894]	Eleanore d'Esterre-Keeling	Queen's Hall	[129]
8 October 1894	Ethel Bauer	Broadwood's Rooms	[130]
12 February 1895	Arnold Dolmetsch	Queen's Hall	[131]
[March 1895]	Franz Rummel	St James's Hall	[132]
[May 1895]	'Madame Haas'	Queen's Hall	[133]
[October 1895]	Esperanza Kisch-Schorr	Steinway Hall	[134]
30 October 1895	Dora Bright		[135]
[November 1895]	Alfred Reisenauer	St James's Hall	[136]
[February 1896]	Mark Hambourg	St James's Hall	[137]
7 February 1896	Else Sonntag	Queen's Hall	[138]
[June 1896]	Frederick Dawson	St James's Hall	[139]
10 November 1896	Johanna Heymann	St James's Hall	[140]
12 March 1897	Berthe Balthazar (Balthasar)	St James's Hall	[141]
22 March 1897	Muriel Elliot	St James's Hall	[142]
10 March 1898	Mark Hambourg	St James's Hall	[143]
23 March 1898	Edith Meadows	Queen's Hall	[144]
23 May 1898	Teresa Carreño	St James's Hall	[145]
[October 1898]	Emile Blanchet	St James's Hall	[146]
[November 1898]	Otto Hegner	Steinway Hall	[147]
[April 1899]	Rudolf Zwintscher	St James's Hall	[148]
7 June 1899	Tora Hwass	St James's Hall	[149]
22 June 1899	Teresa Carreño	St James's Hall	[150]
[November 1899]	Ernst von Dohnányi	St James's Hall	[151]
23 January 1900	Johanna Heymann	Steinway Hall	[152]
[February 1901]	Muriel Elliot	Salle Erard	[153]

Table A1.5. Reported Performances of the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue* in London, 1890–1920 (Part 2 of 4)

Date	Performer	Venue	Notes
26 November 1902	Ferruccio Busoni	Bechstein Hall	[154]
[October 1903]	Josef Hofmann	St James's Hall	[155]
6 May 1904	Frederic Lamond		[156]
28 May 1904	Otto Voss	Queen's Hall	[157]
[January 1905]	Leonard Borwick	Horticultural Hall	[158]
21 March 1905	Evlyn Howard-Jones	Aeolian Hall	[159]
6 May 1905	Vera Jachles	Bechstein Hall	[160]
[November 1905]	Vita Gerhardt	Bechstein Hall	[161]
23 February 1907	Frederic Lamond	Bechstein Hall	[162]
14 May 1907	Marie Dubois	Aeolian Hall	[163]
18 November 1907	Ernst Lengyel	Queen's Hall	[164]
18 November 1907	Blanch Selva	Steinway Hall	[165]
30 May 1908	Wilhelm Backhaus	Aeolian Hall	[166]
2 November 1908	Evlyn Howard-Jones	Bechstein Hall	[167]
[November 1908]	Richard Buhlig	Aeolian Hall	[168]
9 March 1909	Maude Dixon	Bechstein Hall	[169]
10 May 1909	Vera Jachles	St James's Hall	[170]
13 May 1909	John Powell	Queen's Hall	[171]
10 June 1909	Frederick Dawson	St James's Hall	[172]
[November 1909]	Ernest Schelling	Queen's Hall	[173]
5 March 1910	Frederick Moore	St James's Hall	[174]
[November 1910]	Herbert Fryer		[175]
[January 1911]	William Murdoch		[176]
12 May 1911	Deszö Szántó	Bechstein Hall	[177]
[June 1911]	Max Pauer		[178]
27 May 1911	Fanny Davies	Aeolian Hall	[179]
7 October 1911	Wilhelm Backhaus	Queen's Hall	[180]
15 November 1911	Yolando Mero	Steinway Hall	[181]

Table A1.5. Reported Performances of the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue* in London, 1890–1920 (Part 3 of 4)

Date	Performer	Venue	Notes
4 March 1912	Alexander Siloti	Novello Rooms	[182]
18 April 1912	Madeline Price	Bechstein Hall	[183]
14 December 1912	Teresa Carreño	Queen's Hall	[184]
[May 1911]	Evlyn Howard-Jones	Bechstein Hall	[185]
24 May 1913	Egon Petri	Aeolian Hall	[186]
16 June 1913	Ella MacKenzie	Aeolian Hal	[187]
[November 1913]	Ernst von Dohnányi	Aeolian Hall	[188]
[March 1914]	Evlyn Howard-Jones	Bechstein Hall	[189]
24 March 1914	Fanny Davies	Queen's Hall	[190]
13 October 1915	Leonard Borwick	Aeolian Hall	[191]
24 February 1917	Benno Moiseiwitsch	Aeolian Hall	[192]
[July 1918]	Harold Craxton	Steinway Hall	[193]
[December 1919]	William Murdoch		[194]

Table A1.5. Reported Performances of the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue* in London, 1890–1920 (Part 4 of 4)

Notes to Appendix 1

1. *Musical News,* 24 April 1891: 157; *The Lute: A Monthly Journal of Musical News,* May 1891: 156.
2. Concert Programme. Percy Scholes Fonds. Box 172 'Programmes 5: London. Crystal Palace, 1896-1901; St. James's Hall, 1892-1894'. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
3. *Musical News,* 4 March 1893: 196; *The Musical Times,* April 1893: 217.
4. *The Athenaeum,* 27 May 1893: 679; *Musical News,* 27 May 1893: 485; *The Musical Times,* June 1893: 346.
5. *The Musical Standard,* 4 November 1893: 368; *The Athenaeum,* 4 November 1893: 634.
6. Purported to be the first complete performance in Britain of this work. *The Musical Standard,* 9 December 1893: 468; *The Magazine of Music,* January 1894: 3.
7. *The Saturday Review,* 19 January 1895: 92–93.
8. *The Academy,* 15 February 1896: 143.
9. *The Musical Standard,* 25 May 1901: 321
10. *The Musical Standard,* 9 November 1901: 297; *The Athenaeum,* 9 November 1901: 639.
11. *The Athenaeum,* 15 April 1905: 474.
12. N.B. Landowska Performed on a piano. *The Academy,* 24 December 1910: 624; Supplement to *The Musical Standard,* 31 December 1910: 4.
13. *The Observer,* 8 June 1913: 6.
14. *The Observer,* 15 November 1914: 3.
15. *The Musical World,* 14 June 1890: 475.
16. This could possibly have been the *Overture in the French Style* BWV 831. *The Athenaeum,* 6 February 1892: 190.
17. This could possibly have been the *Overture in the French Style* BWV 831. *Musical News,* 26 January 1895: 82; *The Musical Times,* February 1895: 97; *The Athenaeum,* 26 January 1895: 127.
18. *The Musical Standard,* 23 February 1895: 154; *The Monthly Musical Record,* March 1895: 64; *The Musical Times,* March 1895: 165.
19. *The Athenaeum,* 16 November 1895: 688; *The Musical Times,* December 1895: 815.
20. *The Musical Standard,* 7 March 1896: 153; *The Musical Times,* April 1896: 241.
21. *The Musical Standard,* 25 May 1901: 321
22. *The Athenaeum,* 25 May 1901: 671.
23. *The Musical Standard,* 21 June 1902: 397.
24. *The Musical Standard,* 23 June 1906: 393.
25. *The Times,* 19 November 1907: 8.
26. *The Observer,* 2 October 1910: 7; *The Manchester Guardian,* 4 October 1910: 5; *The Musical Standard,* 8 October 1910: 234.
27. *The Athenaeum,* 18 January 1913: 75.
28. *The Athenaeum,* 8 November 1890: 428.
29. This was an encore. *The Academy,* 7 February 1891: 146.
30. *The Athenaeum,* 28 March 1891
31. Reported to be the first performance in Britain. *Musical News,* 11 December 1891: 814; *The Athenaeum,* 12 December 1891: 808; *The Musical Standard,* 12 December 1891: 476; *The Magazine of Music,* January 1892: 2; *The Monthly Musical Record,* January 1892: 17; *The Musical Times,* January 1892: 22.
32. The Praeambulum of BWV 829 is mentioned as an encore. *The Athenaeum,* 4 November 1893: 635; *Musical Opinion,* 1 December 1893: 147.
33. *Musical News,* 2 March 1895: 197; *The Athenaeum,* 2 March 1895: 290; *The Musical Standard,* 2 March 1895: 174; *The Musical Times,* April 1895: 234.
34. *The Musical Standard,* 22 February 1896: 120; *The Athenaeum,* 22 February 1896: 258; *The Magazine of Music,* March 1896: 166.

35. *The Musical Times,* May 1897: 316.
36. *Musical News,* 4 March 1899: 222; *The Musical Standard,* 4 March 1899: 136.
37. *The Musical Standard,* 4 July 1903: 13
38. *The Times,* 19 November 1907: 8.
39. This was part of a near-unprecedented all-Bach programme which included the *Goldberg Variations* and excerpts from the *Well-Tempered Clavier.The Athenaeum,* 29 April 1911: 486; *The Observer,* 23 April 1911: 6.
40. Another all-Bach programme with mixed ensembles given by the Classical Concert Society. *The Academy,* 23 December 1911: 800–1; *The Musical Times,* January 1912: 41.
41. *The Athenaeum,* 23 May 1919: 373; *The Times,* 16 May 1919: 14.
42. *The Times,* 23 June 1919: 12
43. *Musical News,* 20 March 1891: 45; *The Athenaeum,* 21 March 1891: 387.
44. *The Athenaeum,* 5 December 1891: 771. *The Saturday Review,* 5 December 1891 :640; *The Academy,* 5 December 1891: 510; *The Lute, A Monthly Journal of Musical News,* January 1892: 185; *The Musical Times,* January 1892: 26.
45. *The Athenaeum,* 1 July 1893: 40; *The Academy,* 1 July 1893: 19.
46. Franz Rummel should not be confused with his son, Walter Rummel who is better remembered today due to his Bach transcriptions. *The Athenaeum,* 20 October 1894: 537; *The Academy,* 20 October 1894: 311; *The Musical Standard,* 27 October 1894: 327; *The Musical Times,* November 1894: 746; *Musical Opinion & Music Trade Review,* November 1894: 83.
47. *The Musical Standard,* 23 February 1895: 154; *The Monthly Musical Record,* March 1895: 64; *The Musical Times,* March 1895: 165.
48. *The Athenaeum,* 27 April 1895: 544; *The Musical Standard,* 4 May 1895: 356. Mixed programme involving the two-piano concerto in C with Fanny Davies.
49. *The Athenaeum,* 1 June 1895: 714; *The Musical Times,* July 1895: 456.
50. *The Musical Standard,* 23 November 1895: 340; *The Manchester Guardian,* 25 November 1895: 5; *The Athenaeum,* 30 November 1895: 760; *Musical News,* 30 November 1895: 457; *The Musical Standard,* 30 November 1895: 353.
51. *Musical News,* 8 February 1896: 127; *The Lute, A Monthly Journal of Musical News,* March 1896: 491.
52. *The Musical Standard,* 5 December 1896: 353.
53. *The Manchester Guardian,* 15 February 1897: 5; *The Musical Standard,* 20 February 1897: 121; *The Monthly Musical Record,* March 1897: 58; *The Musical Times,* March 1897: 171.
54. *Musical News,* 6 November 1897: 400.
55. *The Athenaeum,* 12 February 1898: 223; *Musical News,* 12 February 1898: 166; *The Musical Standard,* 12 February 1898: 105; *The Monthly Musical Record,* March 1898: 65; *The Musical Times,* March 1898: 173.
56. *The Musical Times,* April 1898: 249
57. *Musical News,* 26 March 1898: 307.
58. Just the 'Presto'. *The Musical Times,* August 1898: 533.
59. *The Athenaeum,* 28 January 1899: 120; *The Musical Standard,* 28 January 1899: 56
60. *The Athenaeum,* 4 March 1899: 282; *The Musical Standard,* 4 March 1899: 136; *The Musical Times,* April 1899: 248.
61. *The Athenaeum,* 3 June 1899: 698.
62. *The Musical Standard,* 3 June 1899: 349.
63. *Musical News,* 2 December 1899: 493.
64. *Musical News,* 17 March 1900: 249. *The Musical Standard,* 17 March 1900: 168
65. *The Musical Standard,* 3 November 1900: 280.
66. N.B. This performance was given on a harpsichord. *The Athenaeum,* 25 May 1901: 671.
67. *The Athenaeum,* 8 June 1901: 734; *The Musical Standard,* 15 June 1901: 379.
68. *The Musical Standard,* 15 February 1902: 103, 110.
69. *The Athenaeum,* 1 March 1902: 283.
70. *The Musical Standard,* 15 March 1902: 174.

71. *The Athenaeum,* 31 May 1902: 698; *The Musical Standard,* 31 May 1902: 350.
72. *The Musical Standard,* 7 June 1902: 358; *The Athenaeum,* 14 June 1902: 762; *The Monthly Musical Record,* July 1902: 128.
73. *The Musical Standard,* 21 July 1902: 397. N.B. Brinsmead was a British piano manufacturer.
74. *The Athenaeum,* 14 February 1903: 217.
75. *The Musical Standard,* 28 March 1903: 200.
76. *The Musical Standard,* 20 June 1903: 391.
77. *The Violin Times,* December 1904: 178.
78. *The Musical Standard,* 21 January 1905: 43; *The Violin Times,* February 1905: 18.
79. *The Manchester Guardian,* 11 April 1905: 14.
80. *The Athenaeum,* 24 March 1906: 370; *The Musical Standard,* 24 March 1906: 180; *Musical Opinion & Music Trade,* April 1906: 498.
81. *The Musical Standard,* 16 June 1906: 376; *The Violin Times,* July 1906: 106.
82. *The Manchester Guardian,* 18 June 1906: 12; *The Athenaeum,* 23 June 1906: 774; *The Musical Standard,* 23 June 1906: 392; *The Violin Times,* July 1906: 109.
83. *The Athenaeum,* 3 November 1906: 558.
84. *The Manchester Guardian,* 10 November 1906: 8; *The Musical Standard,* 17 November 1906: 311
85. This performance also included Preludes and Fugues in C-sharp minor, C-sharp major, and E-flat major from the *Well-Tempered Clavier*. *The Musical Standard,* 26 January 1907: 59.
86. *The Athenaeum,* 16 February 1907: 207.
87. This performance also included three Preludes and Fugue from the *Well-Tempered Clavier*. *The Musical Standard,* 12 October 1907: 232.
88. *The Musical Standard,* 6 June 1908: 360
89. *The Musical Standard,* 30 January 1909: 8.
90. 'part of the concerto'. *The Musical Standard,* 5 June 1909: 364–5.
91. *The Observer,* 17 December 1911: 12.
92. *The Musical Standard,* 18 May 1912: 311
93. *The Observer,* 9 November 1913: 5.
94. *The Musical Times,* July 1915: 434.
95. 'One does not often hear the Bach Concerto' (?!) *The Athenaeum,* July 1916: 350; *The Musical Times,* July 1916: 341.
96. *The Athenaeum,* 23 May 1919: 373.
97. *The Athenaeum,* 18 July 1919: 629.
98. *The Musical Standard,* 8 February 1890: 130; *The Musical World,* 15 February 1890: 137; *The Athenaeum,* 15 February 1890: 221.
99. *The Academy,* 10 May 1890: 328; *The Musical World,* 10 May 1890: 376; *The Musical Standard,* 10 May 1890: 434; *The Athenaeum,* 10 May 1890: 617.
100. *The Athenaeum,* 24 May 1890: 682; *The Academy,* 24 May 1890: 361; *The Musical Standard,* 24 May 1890: 481;
101. *The Athenaeum,* 24 May 1890: 682.
102. Child prodigy. *The Musical Standard,* 12 July 1890: 38; *The Athenaeum,* 19 July 1890: 107; *The Musical Standard,* 19 July 1890: 45; *Musical Opinion & Music Trade Review,* August 1890: 463; *The Monthly Musical Record* August 1890: 185.
103. Child Prodigy. *The Magazine of Music,* August 1890: 216; *The Musical World,* 1 November 1890: 876; *The Musical Standard,* 1 November 1890: 375; *The Athenaeum,* 1 November 1890: 594.
104. Child prodigy. *The Academy,* 8 November 1890: 428; *The Musical World,* 8 November 1890: 897; *The Athenaeum,* 8 November 1890: 633; *The Musical Standard,* 15 November 1890: 401.
105. *The Athenaeum,* 22 November 1890: 707; *The Saturday Review,* 22 November 1890: 589.
106. *The Musical Standard,* 7 March 1891: 191.
107. *Musical News,* 22 May 1891: 235.
108. *The Athenaeum,* 23 May 1891: 678; *The Musical Times,* June 1891: 342.
109. *The Musical Standard,* 6 June 1891: 464; *The Athenaeum,* 6 June 1891: 742.

110. *The Academy,* 20 June 1891: 594; *The Musical Times,* July 1891: 411. (Amusingly, the *Musical Times* article called it the 'Dramatic Fantasia'!)
111. *The Athenaeum,* 27 June 1981: 839.
112. *The Musical Standard,* 28 May 1892: 440; *The Musical Times,* June 1892: 344.
113. *The Manchester Guardian,* 15 June 1892:5; *Musical News,* 17 June 1892: 581; *The Academy,* 18 June 1892: 598; *The Athenaeum,* 18 June 1892: 801; *The Magazine of Music,* July 1892: 125; *The Musical Times,* July 1892: 410.
114. *The Athenaeum,* 25 June 1892: 833; *Musical News,* 24 June 1892: 605.
115. *The Musical Standard,* 25 June 1892: 521.
116. *The Athenaeum,* 10 December 1892: 826.
117. *The Athenaeum,* 21 January 1893: 95; *Musical News,* 21 January 1893: 57; *The Musical Standard,* 21 January 1893: 50; *The Saturday Review,* 28 January 1893: 97; *The Musical Times,* February 1893: 87; *The Magazine of Music,* February 1893: 28; *The Monthly Musical Record,* February 1893: 41.
118. Announced in *The Magazine of Music,* May 1893: 118.
119. *The Athenaeum,* 27 May 1893: 679; *Musical News,* 27 May 1893: 485; *The Musical Times,* June 1893: 346.
120. *The Athenaeum,* 3 June 1893: 709; *The Musical Standard,* 10 June 1893; *The Musical Times,* July 1893: 409.
121. *The Magazine of Music,* July 1893: 148.
122. Performance on the clavichord. *Musical Opinion & Trade Review,* July 1893: 583.
123. *The Musical Standard,* 7 October 1893: 279; *The Manchester Guardian,* 17 October 1893: 7; *The Academy,* 21 October 1893: 350; *Musical News,* 21 October 1893: 348; *The Musical Standard,* 21 October 1893: 329; *The Athenaeum,* 21 October 1893: 561; *Musical Opinion and Trade Review,* November 1893: 91; *The Musical Times,* November 1893: 662; *The Magazine of Music,* November 1893: 245; *The Monthly Musical Record,* November 1893: 257;
124. *The Musical Standard,* 21 October 1893: 318; *The Manchester Guardian,* 1 November 1893: 5; *The Academy,* 4 November 1893: 397; *Musical News,* 4 November 1893: 393; *The Athenaeum,* 4 November 1893: 634; *Musical Opinion & Trade Review,* December 1893: 146; *The Magazine of Music,* December 1893: 292; *The Musical Times,* December 1893: 729.
125. *The Athenaeum,* 25 November 1893: 740–1.
126. *Musical News,* 28 April 1894 : 390.
127. *The Musical Standard,* 5 May 1894: 380.
128. *The Musical Standard,* 16 June 1894: 506.
129. *The Musical Standard,* 23 June 1894: 528.
130. *The Athenaeum,* 13 October 1894: 501; *The Musical Standard,* 20 October 1894: 306; *Musical Opinion & Trade Review,* November 1894: 83.
131. *Musical Opinion & Trade Review,* March 1895: 355; *The Musical Times,* March 1895: 165–6.
132. *The Musical Standard,* 9 March 1895: 195–6; *The Athenaeum,* 9 March 1895: 320.
133. *The Athenaeum,* 11 May 1895: 617.
134. *The Athenaeum,* 26 October 1895: 577; *The Musical Times,* November 1895: 745.
135. *The Musical Standard,* 2 November 1895: 292–3.
136. *Musical News,* 16 November 1895: 410; *The Athenaeum,* 16 November 1895: 688; *The Musical Times,* December 1895: 814.
137. *The Academy,* 8 February 1896: 123; *The Saturday Review,* 8 February 1896: 147; *The Athenaeum,* 15 February 1896: 189.
138. *Musical News,* 15 February 1896: 151; *The Musical Standard,* 15 February 1896: 107.
139. *The Musical Standard,* 20 June 1896: 399.
140. *Musical News,* 14 November 1896: 416; *The Musical Standard,* 14 November 1896: 307.

141. *Musical News,* 20 March 1897: 270; *The Monthly Musical Record,* April 1897: 87.
142. *Musical News,* 27 March 1897: 292; *The Musical Standard,* 27 March 1897: 204.
143. *The Musical Standard,* 19 March 1898: 184; *The Musical Times,* April 1898: 249.
144. *Musical News,* 2 April 1898: 330.
145. *Musical News,* 28 May 1898: 522.
146. *The Athenaeum,* 22 October 1898: 577.
147. *The Athenaeum,* 26 November 1898: 759.
148. *The Athenaeum,* 29 April 1899: 539.
149. *Musical News,* 17 June 1899: 640.
150. *Musical News,* 1 July 1899: 17.
151. *The Athenaeum,* 11 November 1899: 660.
152. *The Athenaeum,* 27 January 1900: 122; *Musical News,* 3 February 1900: 106; *The Musical Standard,* 3 February 1900: 74.
153. *The Athenaeum,* 23 February 1901: 250.
154. *The Musical Standard,* 6 December 1902: 354.
155. *The Athenaeum,* 7 November 1903: 623; *The Musical Standard,* 7 November 1903: 296.
156. *The Athenaeum,* 14 May 1904: 635.
157. *The Athenaeum,* 4 June 1904: 730; *The Violin Times,* July 1904: 97–8.
158. *The Observer,* 22 January 1905: 6; *The Athenaeum,* 28 January 1905: 122; *The Musical Times,* February 1905: 118.
159. *The Manchester Guardian,* 22 March 1905: 6.
160. *The Musical Standard,* 13 May 1905: 295.
161. *The Athenaeum,* 11 November 1905: 655.
162. *The Musical Standard,* 2 March 1907: 138; *The Academy,* 2 March 1907: 218.
163. *The Musical Standard,* 25 May 1907: 333.
164. Child prodigy debut. *The Times,* 19 November 1907: 8; *The Observer,* 24 November 1907: 9; *The Musical Times,* December 1907: 808.
165. *The Times,* 19 November 1907: 8.
166. *The Athenaeum,* 6 June 1908: 706; *The Musical Standard,* 6 June 1908: 360.
167. *The Musical Standard,* 7 November 1908: 294; *The Observer,* 8 November 1908: 7.
168. *The Observer,* 22 November 1908: 7; *The Musical Standard,* 28 November 1908: 350.
169. *The Musical Standard,* 20 March 1909: 187.
170. *The Cremona,* May 1909: 57.
171. *The Observer,* 16 May 1909: 7; *The Musical Standard,* 22 May 1909: 329.
172. *The Musical Standard,* 18 June 1909: 395; *The Musical Times,* July 1909: 469.
173. *The Athenaeum,* 4 December 1909: 705.
174. *The Musical Times,* April 1910: 243.
175. *The Musical Standard,* 19 November 1910: 326.
176. *The Academy,* 4 February 1911: 140.
177. *The Musical Times,* June 1911: 397.
178. *The Athenaeum,* 24 June 1911: 727.
179. Supplement to *The Musical Standard,* 1 July 1911: 25; *The Musical Times,* July 1911: 472.
180. *The Observer,* 8 October 1911: 7.
181. *The Observer,* 19 November 1911: 9; *The Musical Times,* December 1911: 807.
182. *The Musical Times,* April 1912: 259.
183. *The Musical Times,* June 1912: 396.
184. *The Observer,* 15 December 1912: 17; *The Musical Standard,* 21 December 1912: 391.
185. *The Observer,* 4 May 1913: 11.
186. *The Musical Times,* July 1913: 470.
187. ibid.
188. *The Observer,* 30 November 1913: 8.
189. *The Observer,* 22 March 1914: 6.
190. *The Observer,* 29 March 1914: 6; *The Musical Times,* May 1914: 329.
191. *The Athenaeum,* 16 October 1915: 268; *The Observer,* 17 October 1915: 15; *The Musical Times,* November 1915: 686.
192. *The Musical Times,* April 1917: 168.
193. *The Observer,* 21 July 1918: 5.
194. *The Musical Herald,* 1 January 1920: 32.

Date	Well-Tempered Clavier	English Suites	French Suites	Paritas	Toccatas	Misc. Fugues with Prelude	Misc. Multi-Movement Works	Misc. mvts.
1921	I: C, C minor, C-sharp, C-sharp minor, D, D minor, F, G, G minor, A-flat, B-flat. II: D, D minor, E-flat, F minor.	A minor (2 Bourrées only), G minor[A].	E-flat, G, E.	B-flat[A], C minor, A minor, G.	F-sharp minor, C minor, D, G minor.	Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue, Fantasia and Fugue in A minor, Prelude Fugue and Allegro in E-flat.	Goldberg Variations, French Overture.	Fantasia in C minor, Invention in B-flat, Chorale Prelude 'Wachet Auf'[AB], Short Preludes in C, C minor, and D.
1923		G minor.	E.	C minor D.	C minor, D.	Prelude and Fugue '*alla Tarantella*'.	Italian Concerto, Goldberg Variations, French Overture.	Inventions in C, F, B-flat, A minor, Short Preludes in C, E, C minor, and D.
1924	I: C-sharp, C-sharp minor, D, E major, F major, G minor, A-flat, B-flat. II: D, D minor, F minor, G major, A-flat.	F, A minor, G minor.	E-flat, G. E.	B-flat, C minor, D, G.	F-sharp minor, C minor, D, G minor.	Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue, Prelude and Fugue in A minor '*alla Tarantella*', Fantasia and Fugue in A minor.	Italian Concerto, Goldberg Variations.	Adagio in G (after BWV 1005), Short Preludes in C and E, Invention in A, Menuet in G, Fantasia in C minor. 'Bourrée in E minor'.

Date	Well-Tempered Clavier	English Suites	French Suites	Paritas	Toccatas	Misc. Fugues with Prelude	Misc. Multi-Movement Works	Misc. mvts.
1927	Book I: C-sharp[D], E-flat, F, G, A-flat, A minor[AD], B-flat[C]. Book II: D, D minor (fugue only)[BD], B minor, and '3 more'.	A minor, G minor.	E[E].	B-flat (Gigue only)[B], C minor, A minor[D], D, G.	F-sharp minor, D[D].	Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue, Prelude and Fugue '*alla Tarantella*', Fantasia and Fugue in A minor, Prelude Fugue and Allegro in E-flat.	Italian Concerto, Goldberg Variations, French Overture.	'some' Inventions and Sinfonias. Chorale Prelude 'Wachet Auf'[D].
1935 (NY)	I: C-sharp, C-sharp minor, F, F-sharp, G, G minor, B-flat, B. II: D, E minor, F minor, B minor, A-flat, A minor.	A minor, F.	G, E.	B-flat, C minor, A minor, D, G, E minor.		Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue, Fantasia and Fugue in A minor.	Italian Concerto, Goldberg Variations, French Overture.	Adagio in G (after BWV 1005), Fantasia in C minor.
1935 (Lon)	I: G, B-flat, C-sharp.	A minor, F.	G, E.	B-flat, C minor, A minor, D, G, E minor.			Italian Concerto, Goldberg Variations, French Overture.	

Sources

1921:	Bach Week concert programme. A.L. Bacharach Collection. Mus.317.c.5. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
1923:	*The Times,* 30 April 1923: 10
1924:	Bach Week concert programme. Percy Scholes Fonds. Box 6, 'Bach', subfolder 11.1. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
1927:	*The New York Times,* 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 January and 30 April 1927.
1935: (New York)	Concert Programme. Reprinted in the liner notes of *The Art of Harold Samuel* (see under 'Discography: CD Reissues')
1935: (London)	Flyer. Collyer-Fergusson Collection. Royal College of Music, London. *The Times*, 6 May 1935: 10.

Additional Remarks

A. Repeated at the plebiscite concert on 21 June 1921.

B. Encore only.

C. Repeated as an encore.

D. Performed only at the plebiscite concert on 10 April 1927.

E. Repeated at the plebiscite concert on 10 April 1927.

Appendix 3. Milestones of the Early Bach Discography

The following table largely follows Martin Elste.[1] I have marked with asterisks entries that have been added by me according to catalogues accessible through the Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music, the British Library's Sound Archive, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's *Gallica* database, the Virtual Gramophone (Library and Archives Canada), the Discography of American Historical Recordings, and the 'crowd-sourced' discographies of www.bach-canatas.com. Locations given in brackets are the results of informed conjecture.

For practical reasons, I begin with Joachim's 1903 recording. Before this point, more research would be necessary to establish a detailed chronology. An unissued private recording from the collection of Julius Block (dated 1892; restored and issued in 2008 by Marston Records), appears to be the earliest ever recording of Bach's music. It was made during a private gathering in Moscow during which violinist Jules Conus performed the first Minuet from the Partita in E major BWV 1006. Furthermore, popular arrangements, some of which were issued before Joachim's recording, suffer from often incomplete identification of works, performer, and recording dates.

Year	Note	Work	Location	Performer
1903	Earliest commercially issued recording of a Bach work in its original instrumentation	Prelude, Sonata in G minor BWV 1001 Bourrée, Partita in B minor BWV 1002	Berlin	Josef Joachim
1908	Earliest sound recording on a harpsichord (unissued)	1st movement, Italian Concerto BWV 971	Berlin	Wanda Landowska
1909	Earliest recording of a keyboard work	Prelude and Fugue in C-sharp major BWV 848	Hayes, Middlesex	Wilhelm Backhaus
*c.1910	Earliest recording on an organ	Toccata and Fugue in D minor BWV 565[2]	Salt Lake City, Utah	J.J. McClellan, organ
1915	Earliest recording of a Concerto	Concerto for 2 Violins in D minor BWV 1043	Victor Studios, New York	Fritz Kreisler, Efram Zimbalist, anon. string quartet

1. Elste 2000: 113–116.

2. Fugue significantly abridged.

Year	Note	Work	Location	Performer
*1916	Earliest recording of a chamber work	Sonata for Violin and Keyboard in E major BWV 1016, mvts 1 and 4.	[Victor Studios, New York]	Maud Powell, vln.
*1919	Earliest recording of a piano transcription (unissued)	Chorale 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen' BWV 734 (trans. Ferruccio Busoni)	Columbia Studios, London	Ferruccio Busoni
1920	Earliest commercially released recording of Bach on the harpsichord.	Prelude in E-flat major BWV 815a, Fugue in D minor BWV 948, Fugue from the Toccata in E minor BWV 914.	Hayes, Middlesex	Violet Gordon-Woodhouse
1921	Earliest recording of an orchestral transcription	Fantasia and Fugue in C minor BWV 537 (trans. Edward Elgar)	Hayes Studios, Middlesex	Edward Elgar, cond.; Symphony Orchestra
*1921	Earliest issued recording of a piano transcription	Prelude and Fugue in D major BWV 532 (trans. Eugene d'Albert)	Hayes	Mark Hambourg
1922	Earliest recording of a complete orchestral work in its original form	Brandenburg Concerto in G major BWV 1048	Hayes	Eugene Goossens, cond.; Royal Albert Hall Orchestra
*1923	Earliest recording of the *Chromatic Fantasia*	Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue BWV 903	Hayes	Harold Samuel
1924	Earliest recording of a keyboard Concerto	Concerto in D minor BWV 1052	[London]	Harriet Cohen, pno; Henry Wood, cond.; anon. orchestra.
*1924	Earliest complete recording of a Suite for orchestra	Suite in B minor BWV 1067	Columbia Studios, London	Robert Murchie, flute; Hamilton Harty, cond.
*1925	Earliest Recording of a keyboard Suite	Partita in B-flat major BWV 825	Queen's Small Hall	Harold Samuel
1926	Earliest organ recording [Elste]	Toccata in D minor BWV 565	Central Hall, Westminster	George Dorrington Cunningham
*1926	Earliest completed recording of an English Suite[3]	English Suite in A minor BWV 807	Hayes [and Queen's Hall, London]	Harold Samuel
1927	Earliest recording using a church organ	Prelude in E minor BWV 533 1st movement, Organ Concerto in D minor after Vivaldi BWV 956	St Michael's Church, Hamburg	Alfred Sittard

3. The distinction merits qualification. The two Gavottes had been recorded acoustically in 1923 as filler on the fourth side of the album that included the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue*. The other movements were recorded electrically in 1926, most likely in Queen's Small Hall.

Year	Note	Work	Location	Performer
*1927	Earliest complete recording of the *Italian Concerto*	Concerto in the Italian Style BWV 971	Queen's Hall, London	Violet Gordon-Woodhouse
*1927	Earliest complete recording of a sacred work.	Motet *Jesu, Meine Freude* BWV 227 (sung in English)	Kingsway Hall, London.	Charles Kennedy Scott, cond.; Bach Cantata Club
1928	Earliest recording of a Cantata	*Nun ist das Heil und die Kraft* BWV 50 (sung in English: 'Now Shall the Grace')	Leeds	Hugh Allen, cond.; London Symphony Orchestra; Leeds Festival Choir
*1928	Earliest complete recording of a chamber work	Sonata for Violin and Keyboard in E major BWV 1016	Small Queen's Hall	Isolde Menges, vln; Harold Samuel, pno.
1928	Earliest recording of a lute work	Prelude in C minor BWV 899 Allemande, Suite in E minor BWV 996	Queen's Hall	Andrés Segovia, guitar
1929	Earliest complete recording of a multi-movement solo violin work	Sonata for solo violin in C major BWV 1005	Queen's Hall	Yehudi Menuhin
*1929	Earliest (near-) complete[4] recording of a major liturgical work	Mass in B minor BWV 232	Kingsway Hall	Albert Coates, cond.; Philharmonic Choir; London Symphony Orchestra[5]
*1929	Earliest complete compilation of a Bach repertoire	Six Brandenburg Concertos	[U.K.][6]	Anthony Bernard, cond.; London Chamber Orchestra[7]
1930	Earliest recording using a clavichord	Sarabande and Gavotte, French Suite in G major BWV 816	[Berlin]	Erwin Bodky

4. The da capo of the Osanna is cut (Elste 2000: 106).

5. Soloists: Elisabeth Schumann, soprano 1; Margaret Balfour, soprano 2 & alto; Walter Widdop, tenor; Friedrich Schorr, baritone; Arnold Grier, organ.

6. Detail of technical interest: this set may have been recorded using Brunswick's proprietary photoelectric process. Using a powerful ray of light and a photoelectric cell to detect air pressure variations, it was notoriously unreliable and delivered unsatisfactory results, compared with the standard Western-Electric process. Introduced in 1925, it may already have been shelved by 1929.

7. Soloists: Frank Almgill and Gordon Walker, flutes; Leon Goossens, oboe; Ernest Hall, trumpet; Samuel Kutcher, concertmaster; Walter Gieseking, piano [no. 5]; Rudolph Dolmetsch, harpsichord.

Appendix 4. Bach Recordings Heard in the Gramophone Societies

Society	Work	Performer	Date	Catalogue no.	Notes
Brixton Gramophone Society	Third Brandenburg Concerto	Goossens, RAH orchestra	1922	H.M.V. D683	[1]
	Fugue from Sonata in G minor	Isolde Menges	1922	H.M.V. E269	
South-East London Gramophone Society[1]	Third Brandenburg Concerto	Goossens, RAH	1922	H.M.V. D683	[2]
	Largo from the double violin concerto	Kreisler-Zimbalist	1915	H.M.V. DB 587–8	
	1st movement from Sonata in G minor	Isolde Menges	1922	H.M.V. E 269	
	Organ Fugue from the Fantasia in C minor, orch. Elgar	Elgar cond., Symphony Orchestra	1921	H.M.V. D 614	
	Harpsichord Fugue in E minor [from Toccata BWV 914]	Violet Gordon-Woodhouse	1920	H.M.V. D 491.	
South London Gramophone Society	*Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue*; Two Bourées	Harold Samuel	1923	H.M.V. D 783	[3]
	Prelude and Fugue in C-sharp (WTC I)	Irene Scharrer	1921	H.M.V. D 576	
	Prelude and Fugue in G	Mark Hambourg		H.M.V.	
	1st movement from Sonata in G minor	Isolde Menges	1922	H.M.V. E 269	
	Largo from the double Violin Concerto	Kreisler-Zimbalist	1915	H.M.V. DB 587–8	
	Allemande from Partita in B-flat	Violet Gordon-Woodhouse		H.M.V. E 275	
	Sarabande in D	Beatrice Harrison		H.M.V.	
	Bourrée C major	Pablo Casals		H.M.V	

1. This was a ‘festival’ devoted to Bach and Handel proposed by Mr Yeoman.

Society	Work	Performer	Date	Catalogue no.	Notes
South London Gramophone Society (cont'd)	Organ Fugue from the Fantasia in C minor, orch. Elgar	Elgar cond., Symphony Orchestra	1921	H.M.V. D 614	
	Gavotte in E for Strings	Henry Wood cond., New Queen's Hall Orchestra		Columbia L 1515	
	Air on a G String	Victor Herbert's Orchestra		Victor	
	Two Gavottes from Suite in D major	Victor Herbert's Orchestra		Victor	
	Fugue in D minor	J.J. McClellan		Columbia D 1704	
Francis Mead	Double Violin Concerto				[4]
	Suite in D major			Victor 35656, 35669	
	Suite in C major	Casals			
South-East London Recorded Music Society	Suite in D Major–Overture	Court Orchestra		Parlophone	[5]
City of Leeds Gramophone and Phonograph Society	Suite in B minor for Flute and Strings	Hamilton Harty, cond.; R. Murchie flute; Symphony Orch.	1924	Columbia L 1557	[6]
Liverpool and District Gramophone and Phonograph Society	Third Brandenburg Concerto	Goossens, RAH	1922	H.M.V. D683	[7]
Richmond and District Gramophone Society	Suite in B minor for Flute and Strings	Hamilton Harty, cond.; R. Murchie flute; Symphony Orch.	1924	Columbia L 1557	[8]
Cardiff and District Gramophone Society	Suite in B minor for Flute and Strings	Hamilton Harty, cond.; R. Murchie flute; Symphony Orch.	1924	Columbia L 1557	[9]
South London Gramophone Society	Suite in B minor for Flute and Strings (2 movements)	Hamilton Harty, cond.; R. Murchie flute; Symphony Orch.	1924	Columbia L 1557	[10]

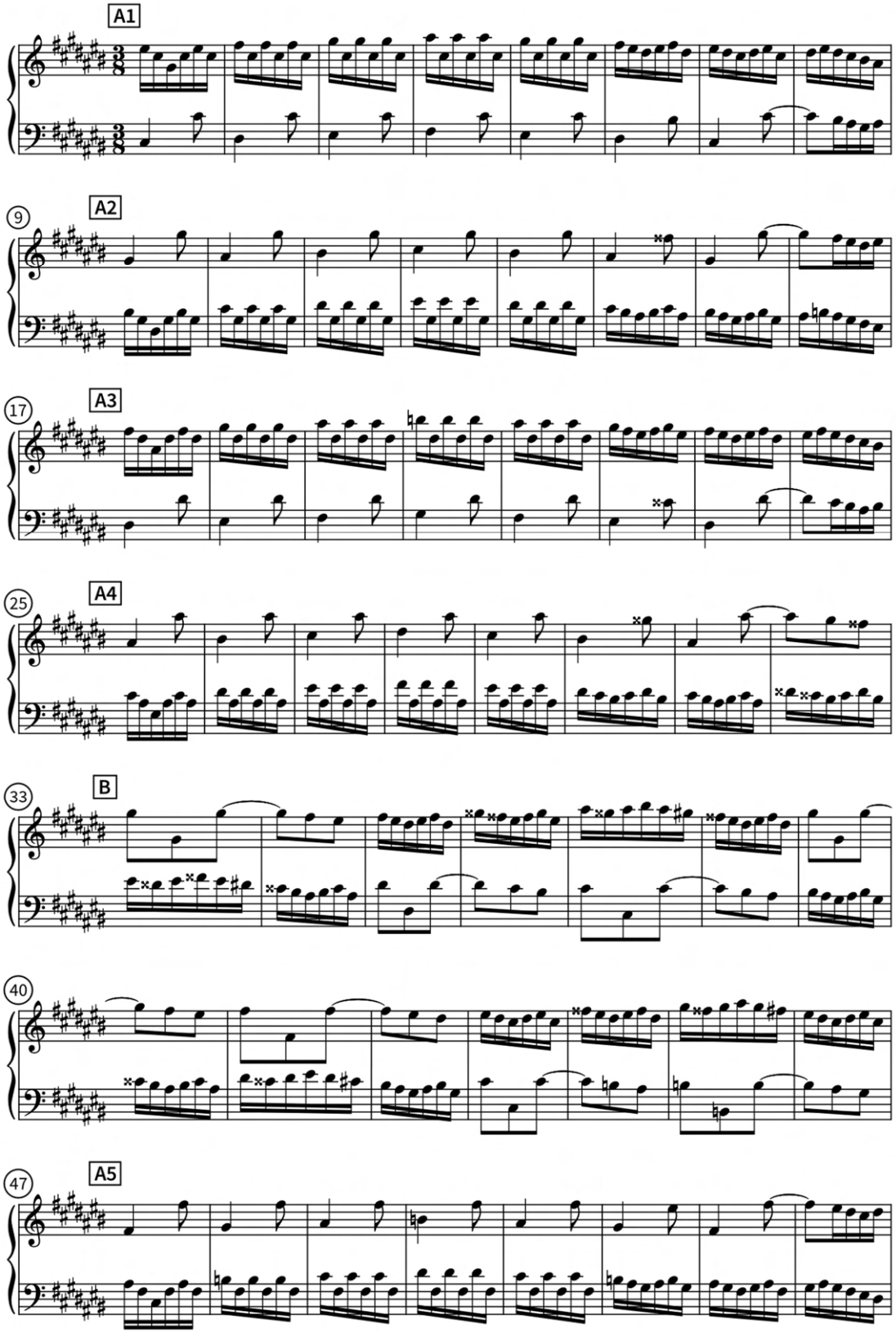
Society	Work	Performer	Date	Catalogue no.	Notes
Cardiff and District Gramophone Society	Third Brandenburg Concerto	Goossens, RAH	1922	H.M.V. D683	[11]
	Two Bourrées	Harold Samuel	1923	H.M.V. D 783	
Huddersfield Gramophone Society	Double Violin concerto	Jelly d'Aránÿi and Adila Fachiri	1926	Vocalion D 02107	[12]
North London Gramophone and Phonograph Society	Double Violin concerto	Jelly d'Aránÿi and Adila Fachiri	1926	Vocalion D 02107	[13]
South-East London Recorded Music Society	Prelude and Allemande from BWV 825	Harold Samuel	1926	H.M.V. D 1053	[14]
Dewsbury and Districy Gramophone Society	Minuet and Badinerie from Suite in B minor for Flute and Strings (2 movements)	Hamilton Harty, cond.; R. Murchie flute; Symphony Orch.	1924	Columbia L 1557	[15]
Leeds Gramophone and Phonograph Society	Double Violin concerto	Jelly d'Aránÿi and Adila Fachiri	1926	Vocalion D 02107	[16]
Richmond and District Gramophone Society	Double Violin concerto	Jelly d'Aránÿi and Adila Fachiri	1926	Vocalion D 02107	[17]
Cardiff and District Gramophone Society	Prelude and Fugue in C-sharp (WTC I)	Irene Scharrer	1921	H.M.V. D 576	[18]
South London Gramophone Society	'three movements' from Partita in B-flat major	Harold Samuel	1926	H.M.V 1053	[19]

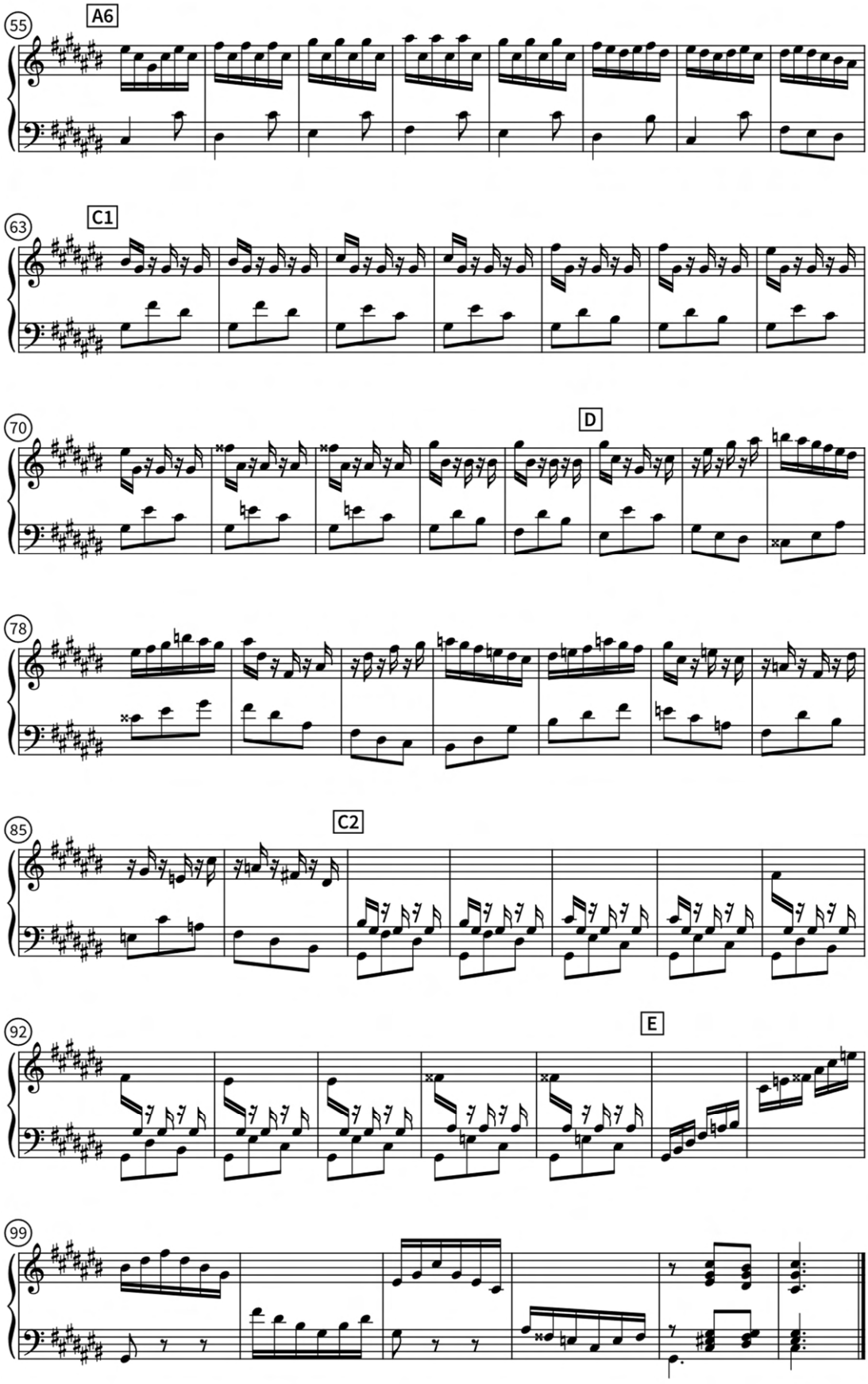
Notes to Appendix 4

1. *The Gramophone,* June 1923: 33.
2. *The Gramophone,* February 1924: 188; March 1924: 209. This was a 'festival' devoted to Bach and Handel proposed by Mr Yeoman.
3. *The Gramophone,* May 1924: 260.
4. *The Gramophone,* July 1924: 49
5. *The Gramophone,* August 1924: 95.
6. *The Gramophone,* August 1924: 96.
7. *The Gramophone,* December 1924: 268. Remarks recorded by the correspondent: 'Why Bach should by some folk be considered abstruse and even dull "gives one furiously to think" when the fine rendering of one of the Brandenburg Concertos – that in G – by the Royal Albert Hall Orchestra is heard, for this item proved to be as clear-cut and tuneful as much of Mozart and more understandable than a great deal of Schumann or even Beethoven, to say nothing of Brahms'.
8. *The Gramophone,* March 1925: 378.
9. *The Gramophone,* January 1926: 384.
10. *The Gramophone,* February 1926: 438.
11. *The Gramophone,* March 1926: 478. On this occasion, Mr Yeoman (see note 2) visited the Cardiff and District Gramophone Society, bringing records with him.
12. *The Gramophone,* March 1926: 479.
13. *The Gramophone,* March 1926: 480
14. *The Gramophone,* March 1926: 481.
15. *The Gramophone,* April 1926: 537.
16. *The Gramophone,* April 1926: 538.
17. *The Gramophone,* April 1926: 540.
18. *The Gramophone,* June 1926: 25.
19. *The Gramophone,* September 1926: 162.

Appendix 5. Score of the Prelude in C-sharp major BWV 848

The sectional subdivisions discussed in Chapter 6 have been identified in square boxes.




55
A6
63
C1
70
D
78
85
C2
92
E
99

Appendix 6. Full-Page Figures for Chapter 6

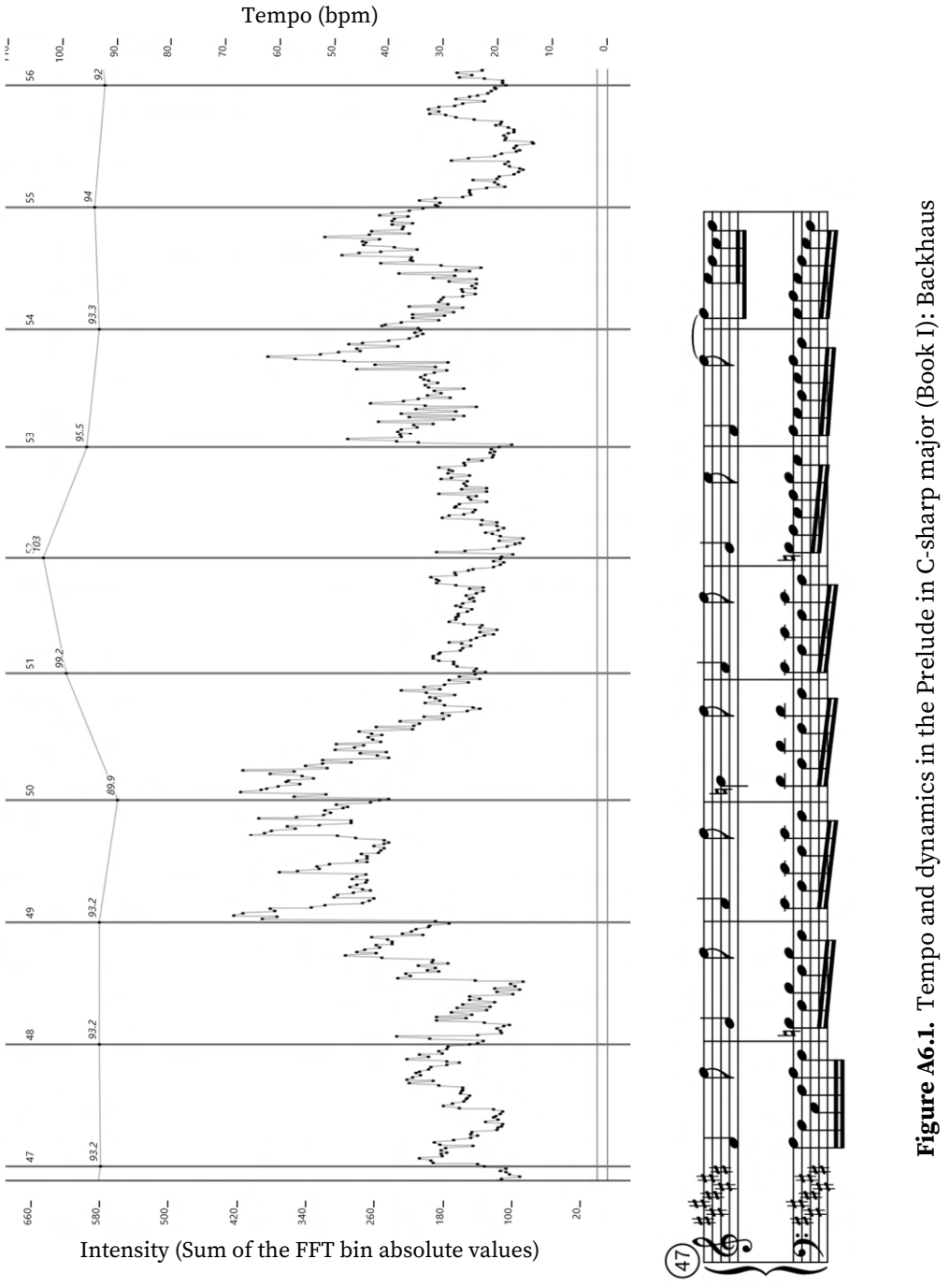


Figure A6.1. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Backhaus

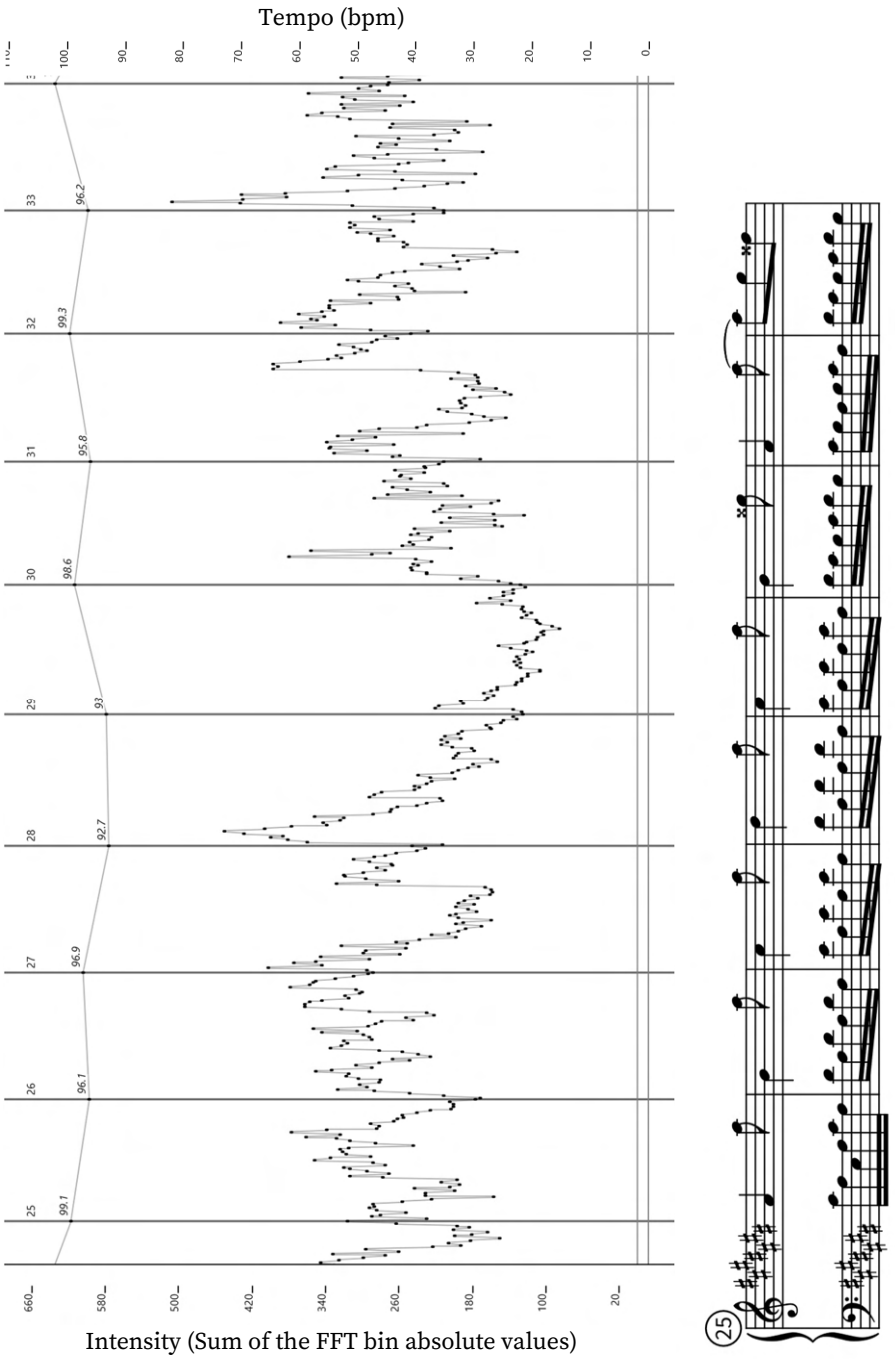


Figure A6.2. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Backhaus

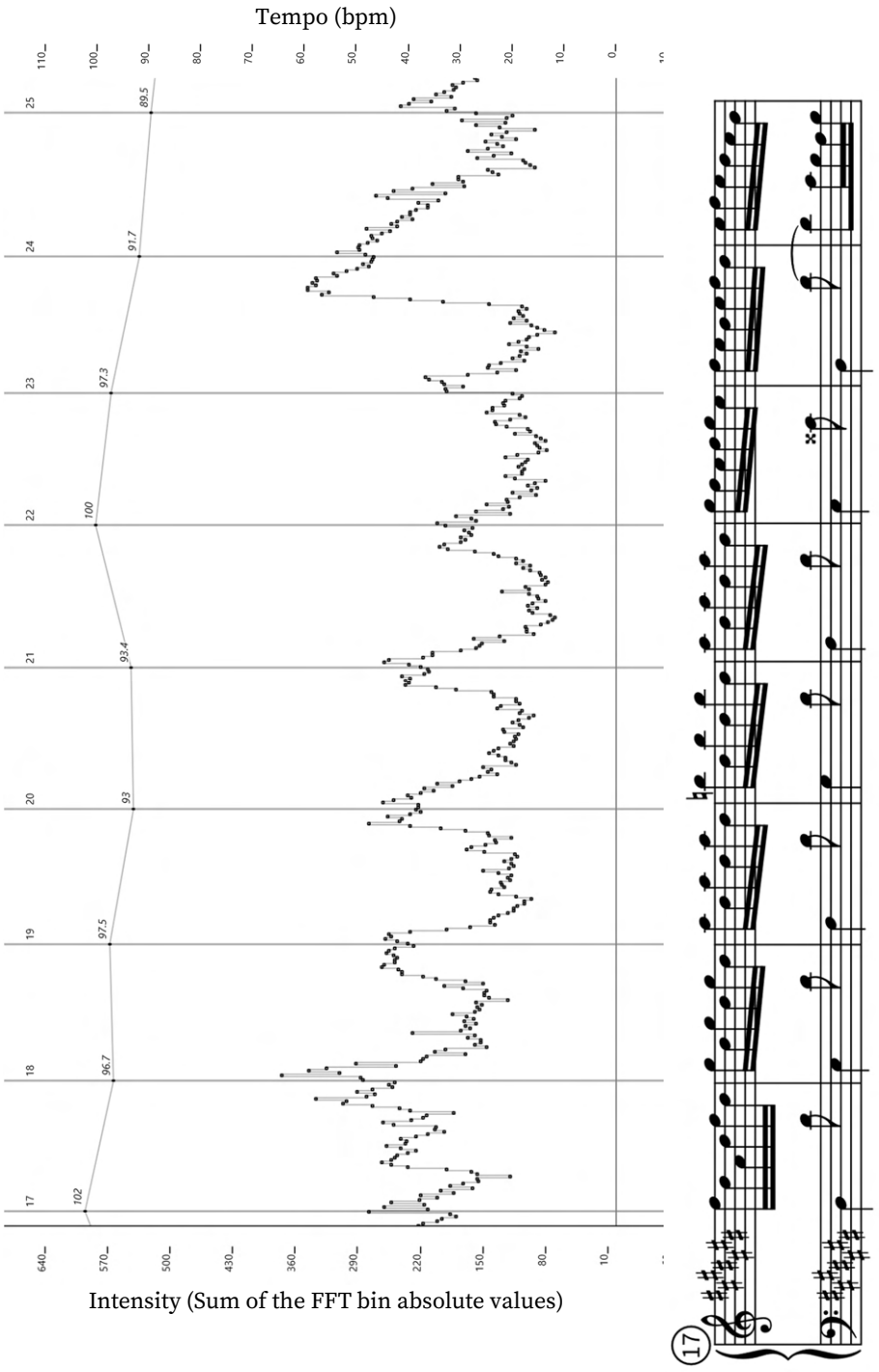


Figure A6.3. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Scharrer

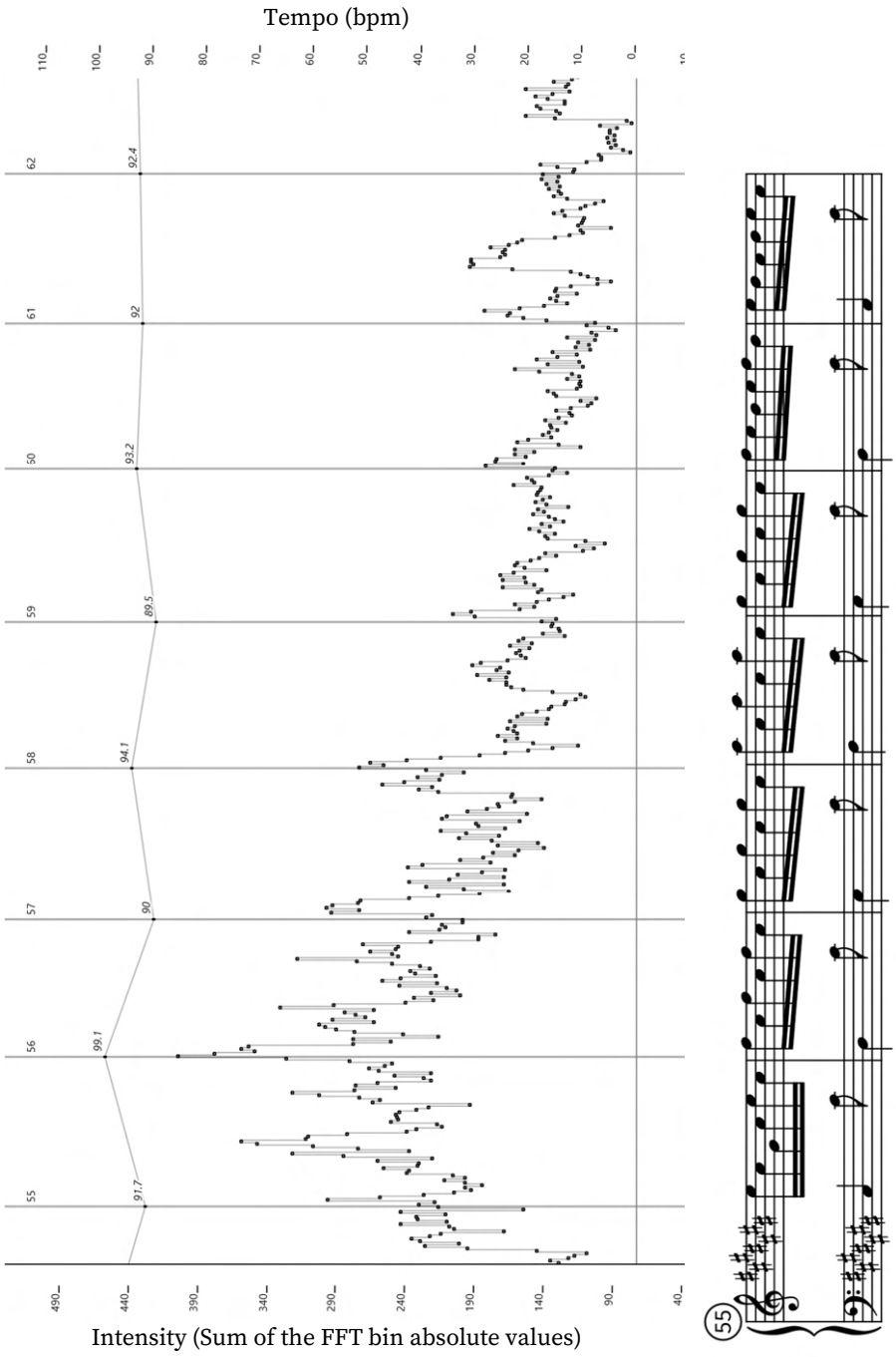


Figure A6.4. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Scharrer

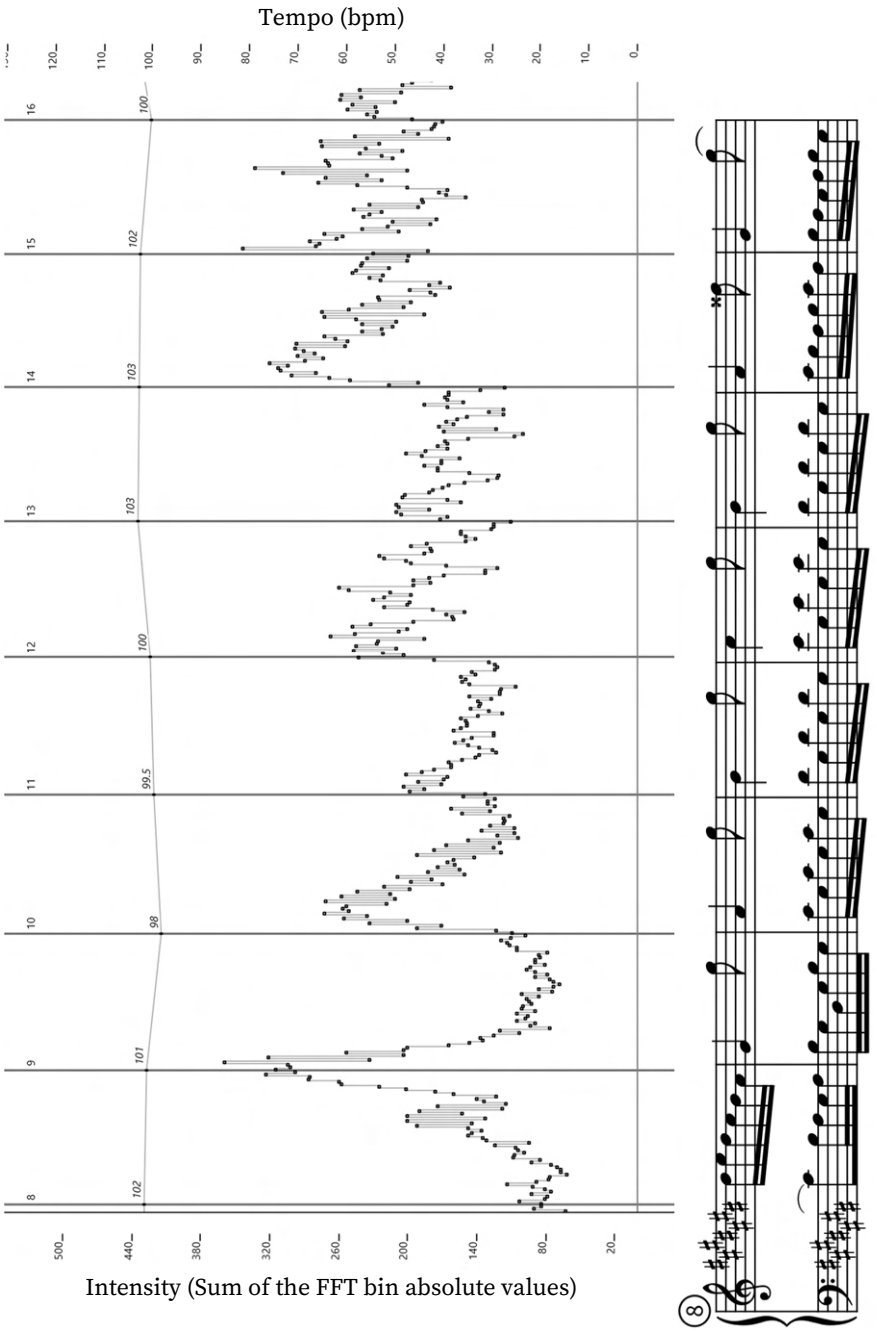
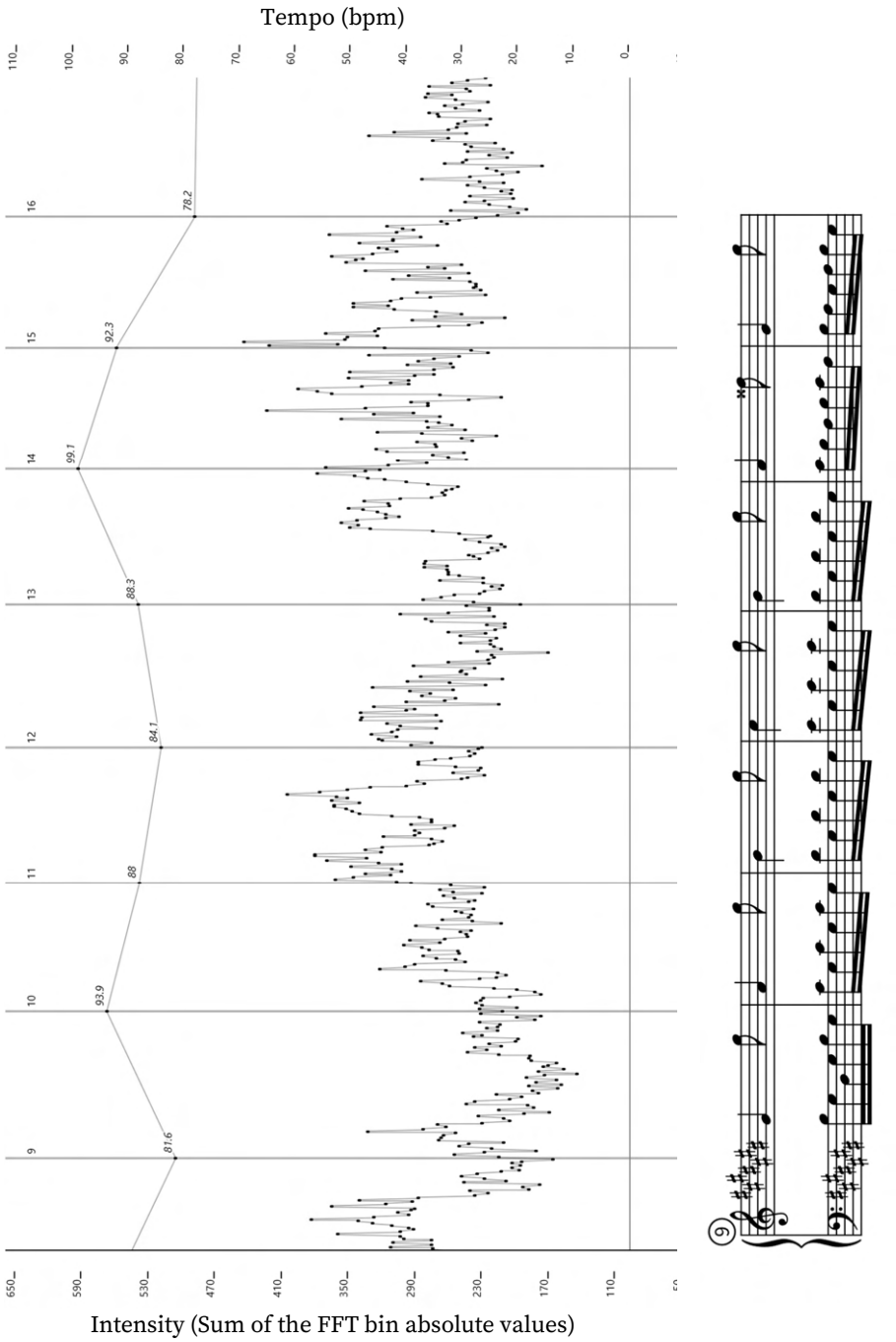


Figure A6.5. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Gieseking



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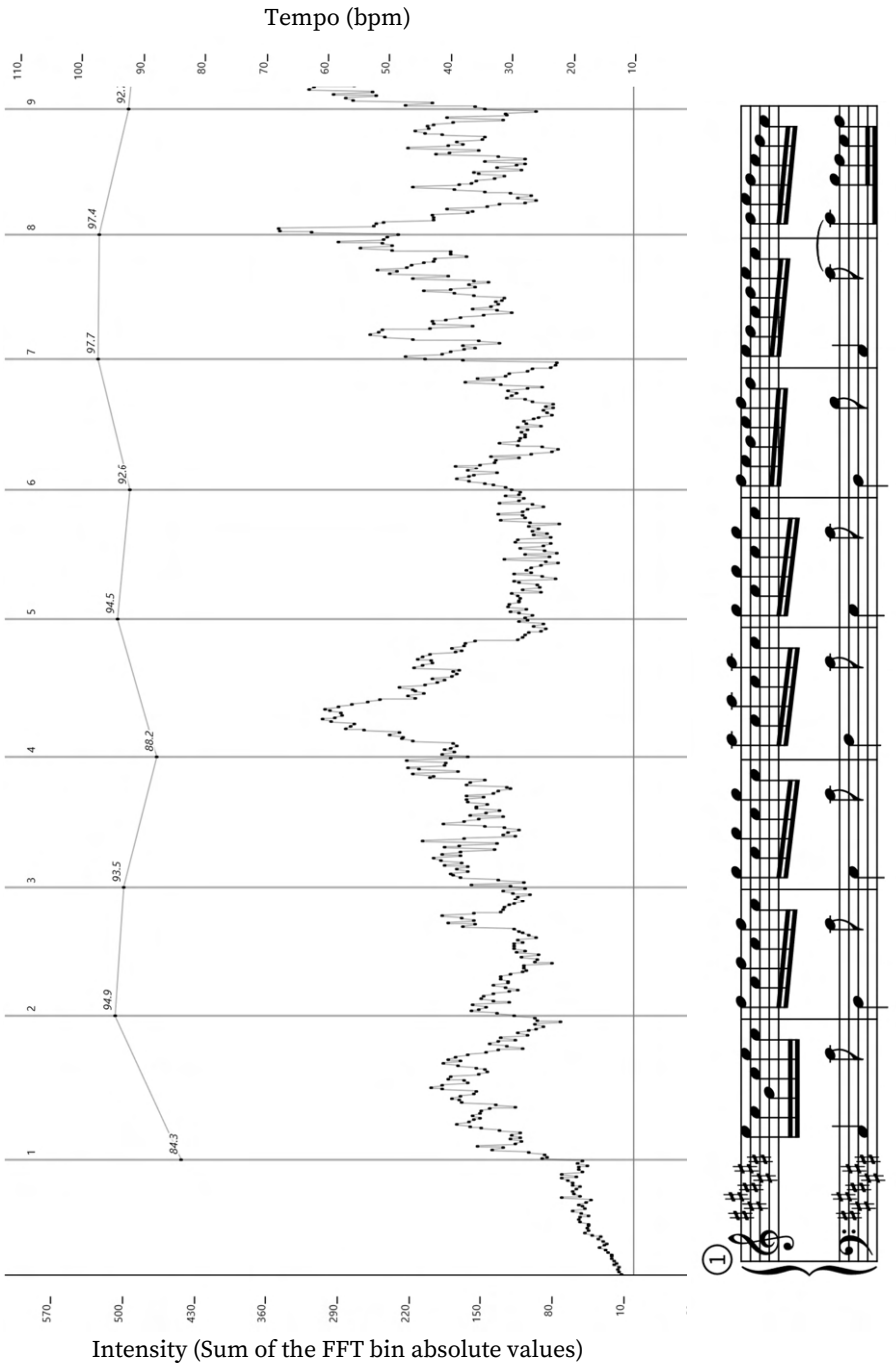

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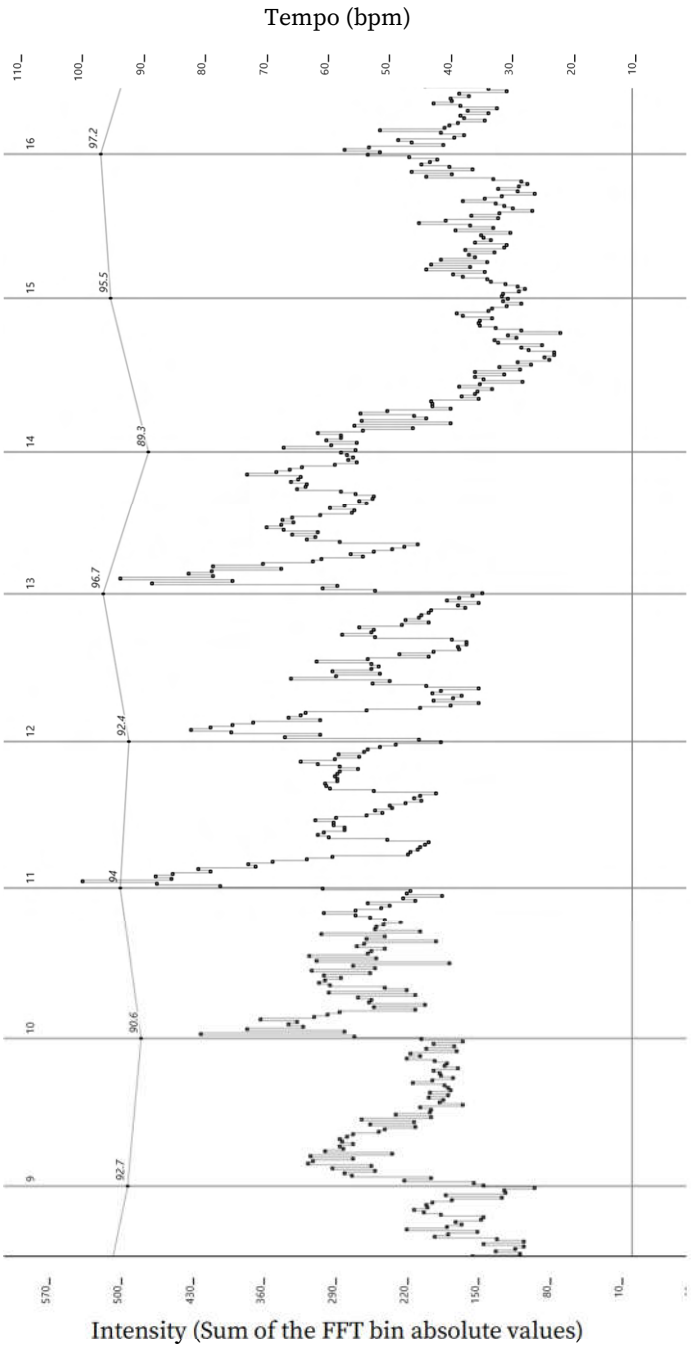

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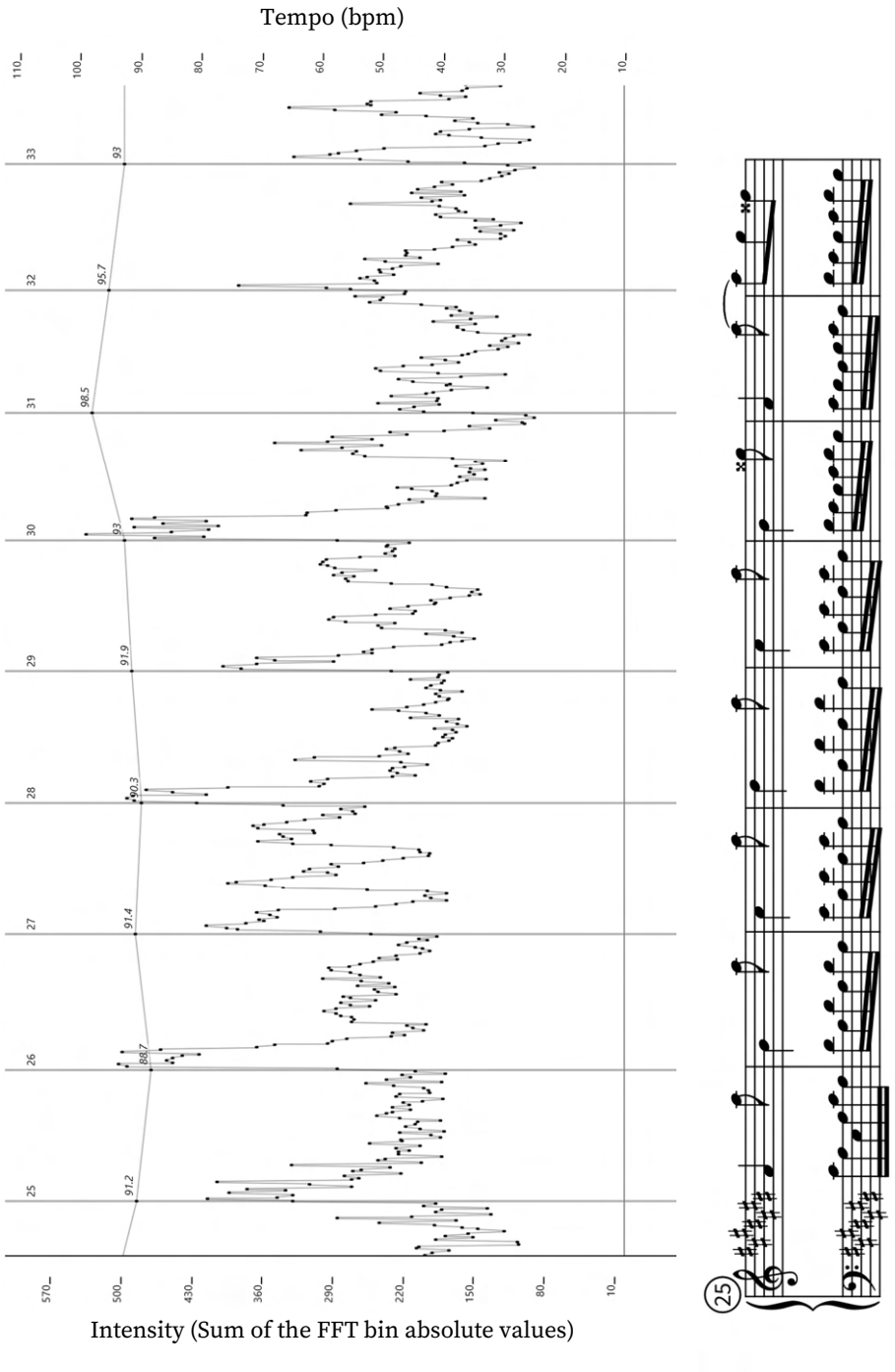

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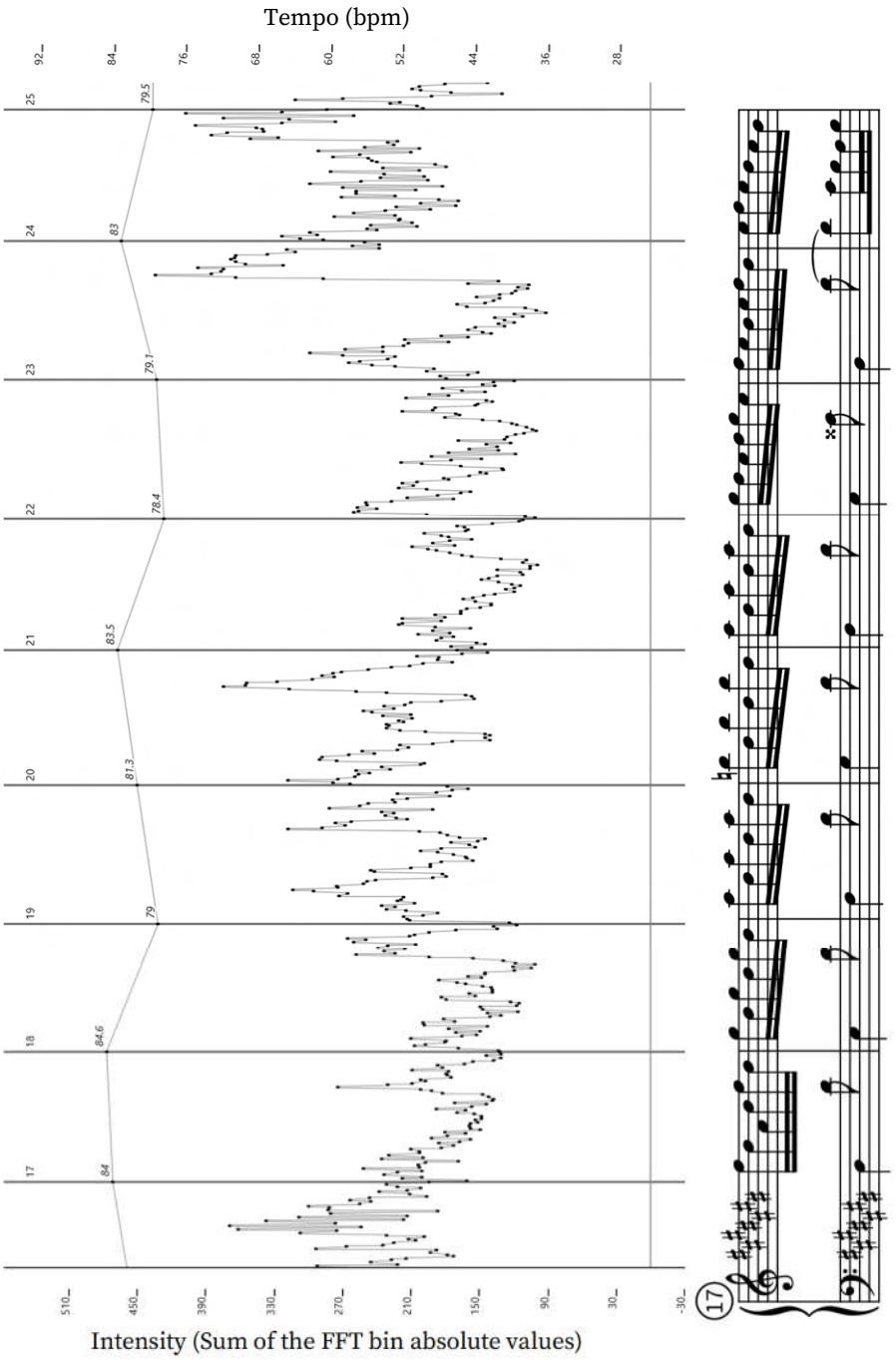

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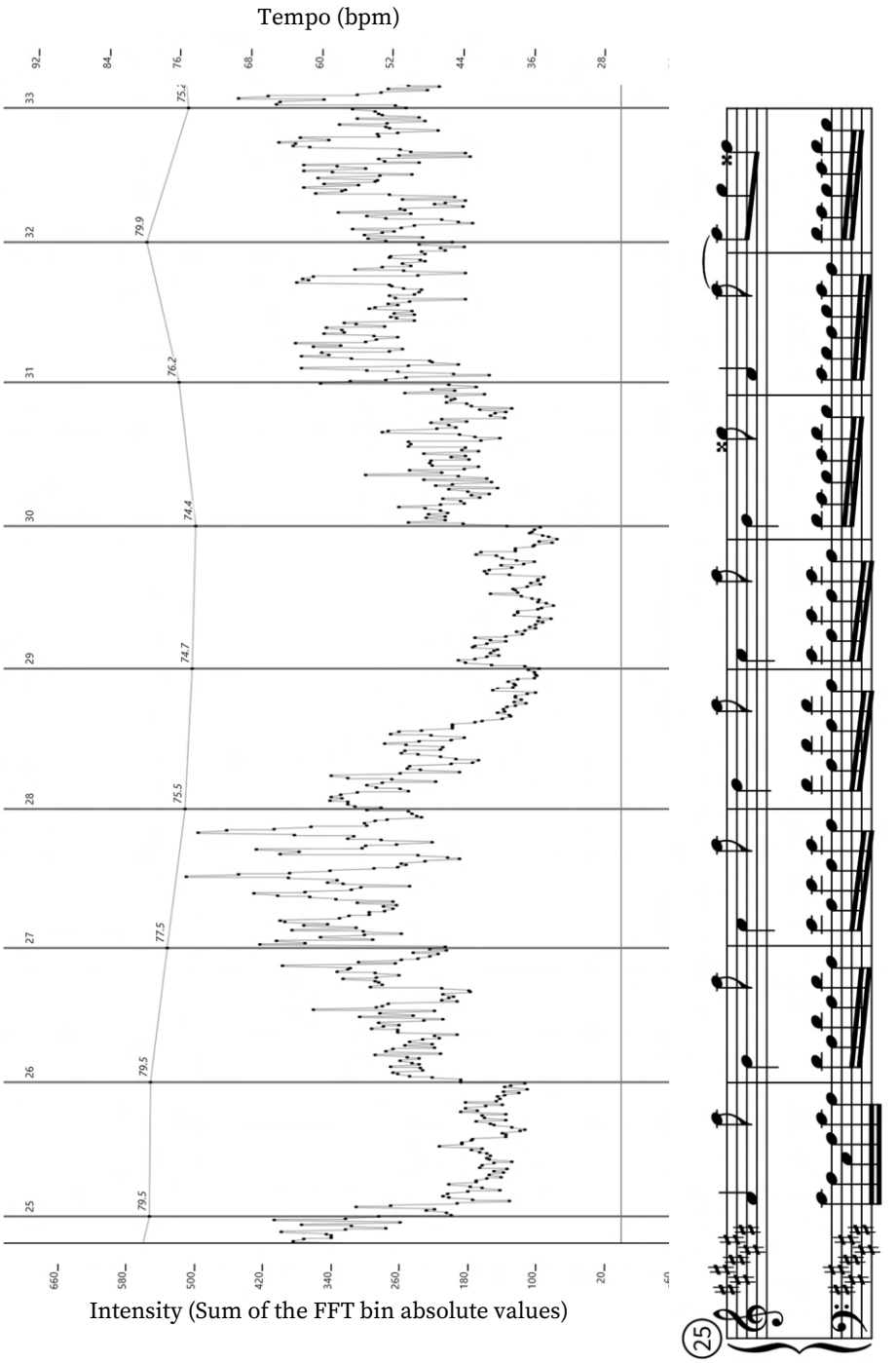

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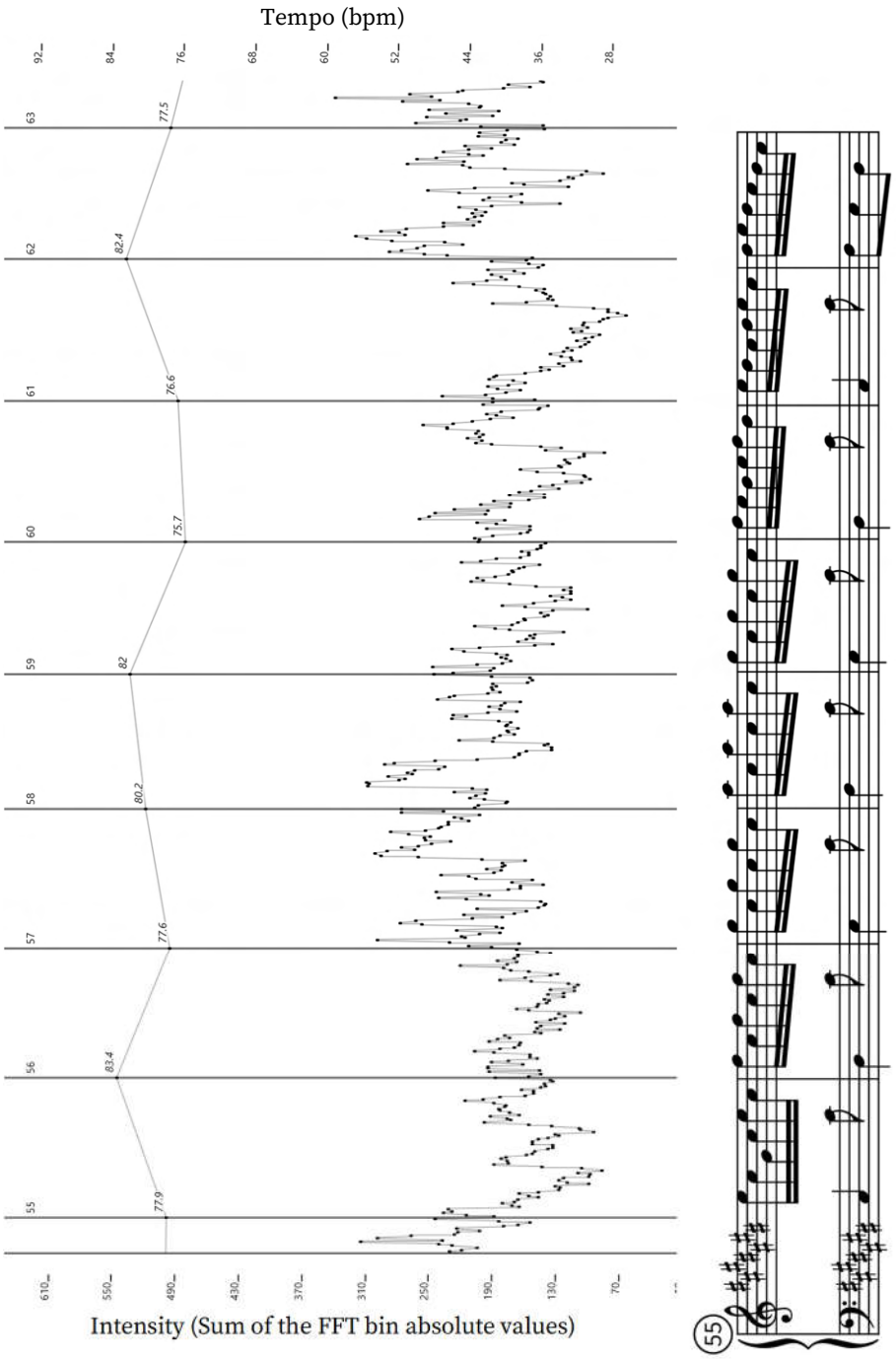

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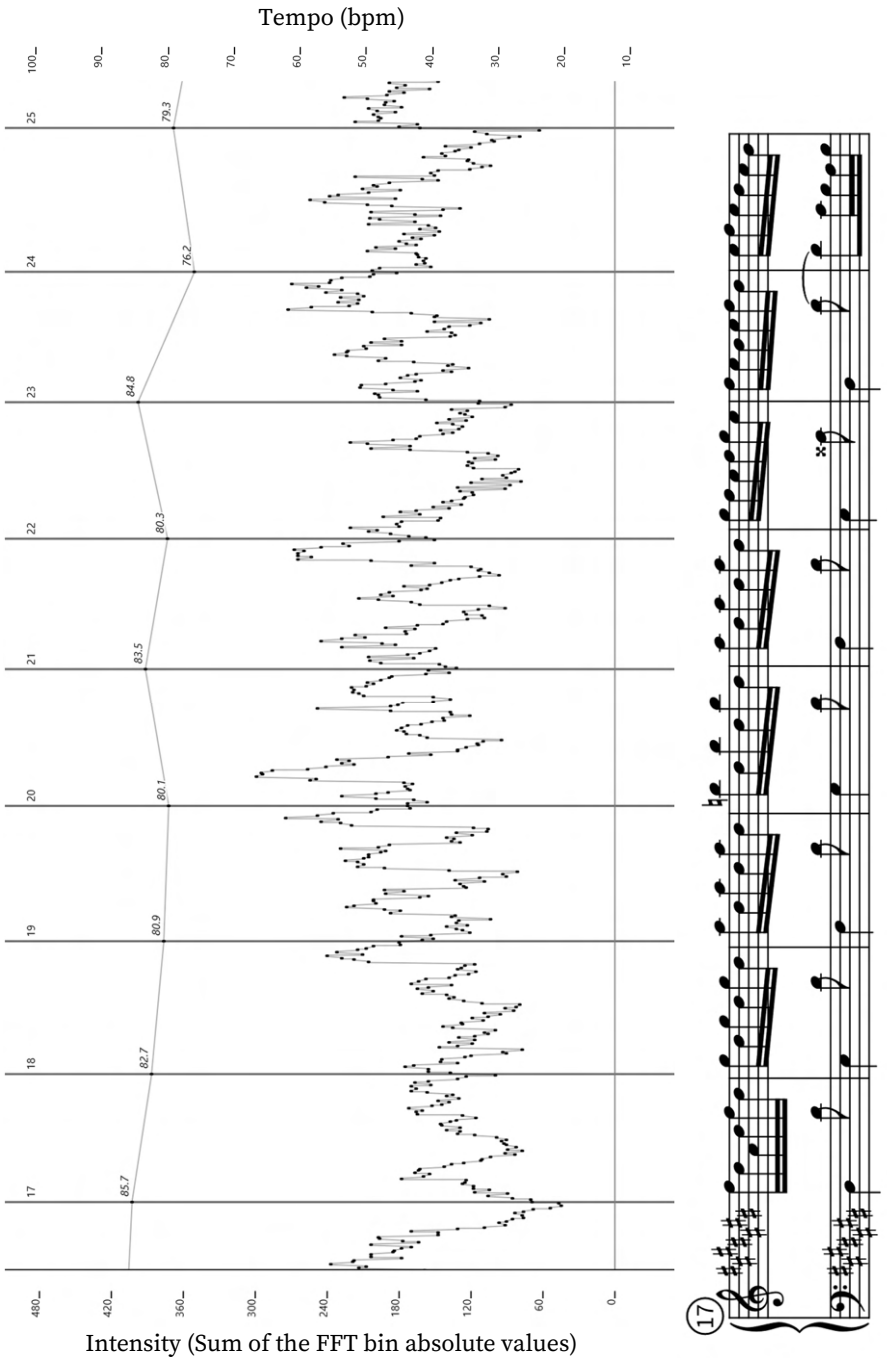

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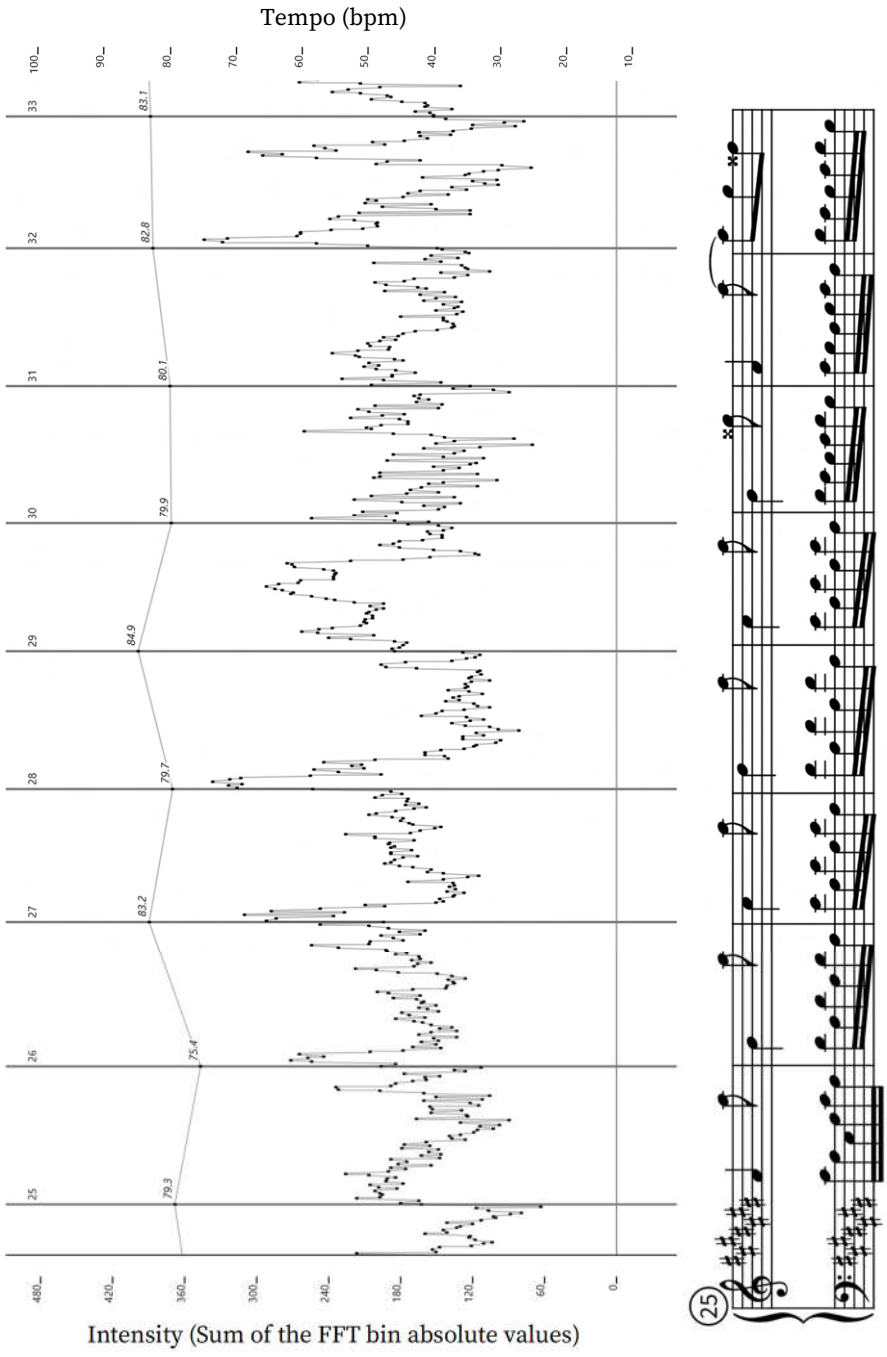

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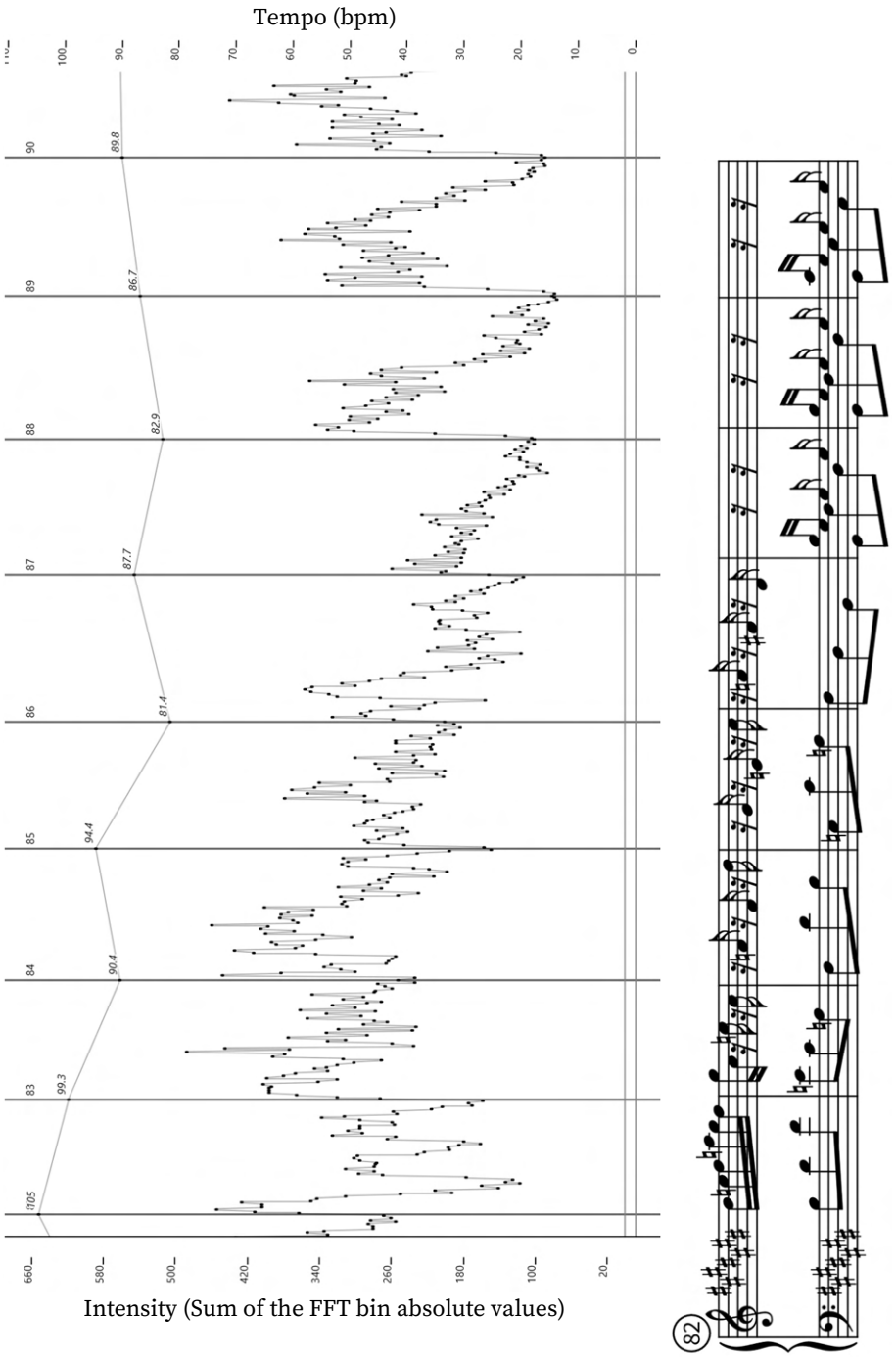

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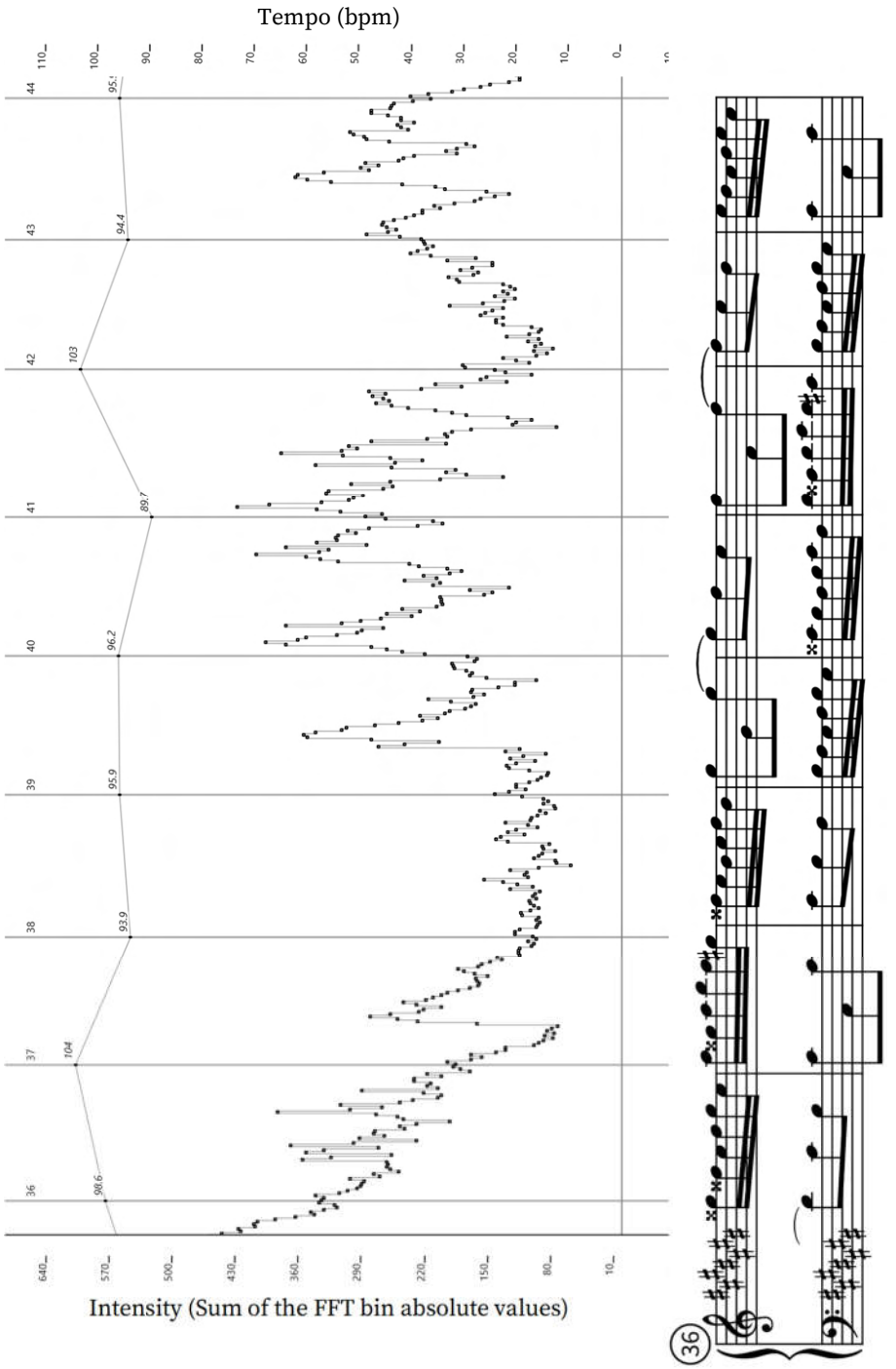

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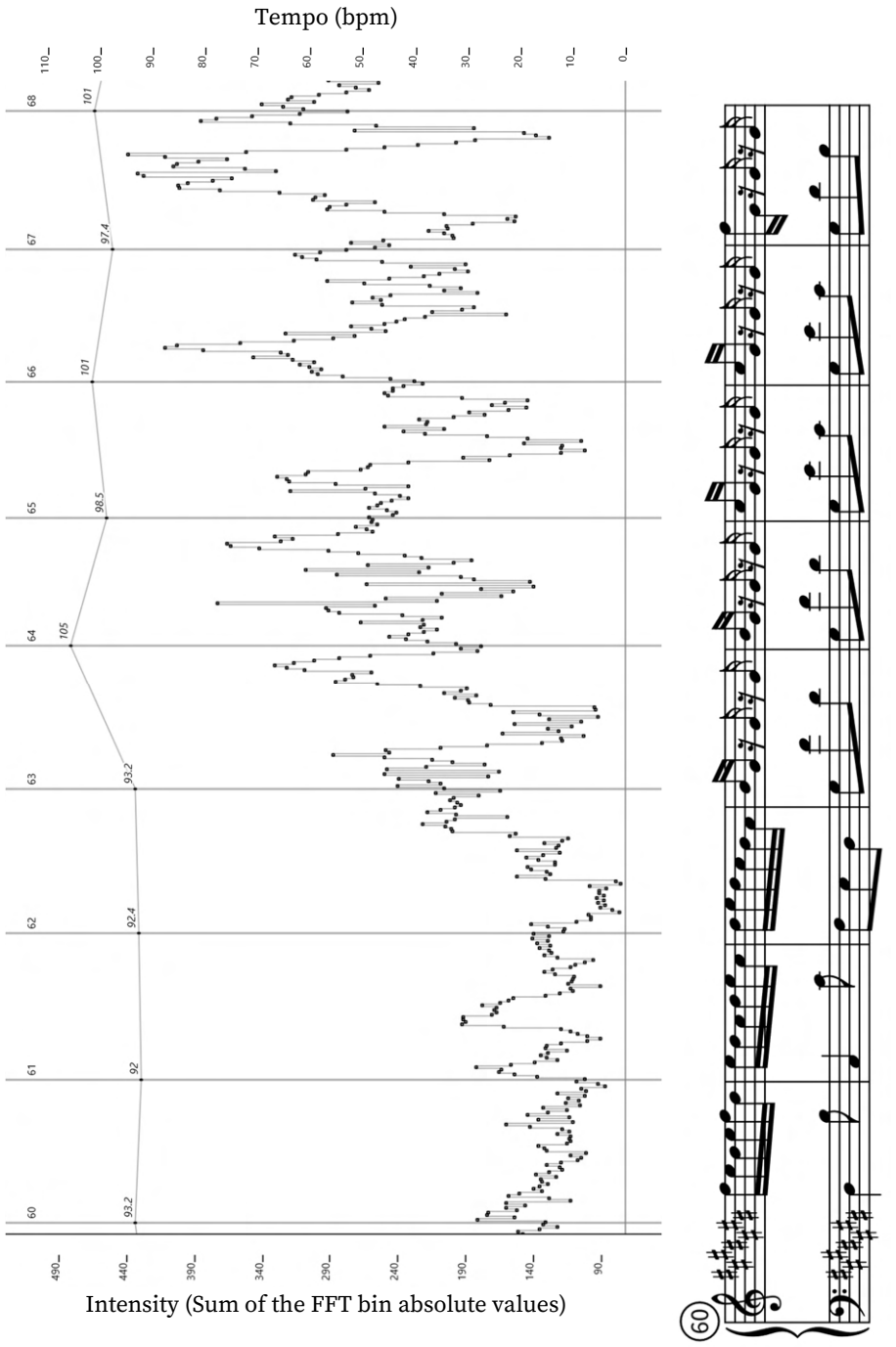

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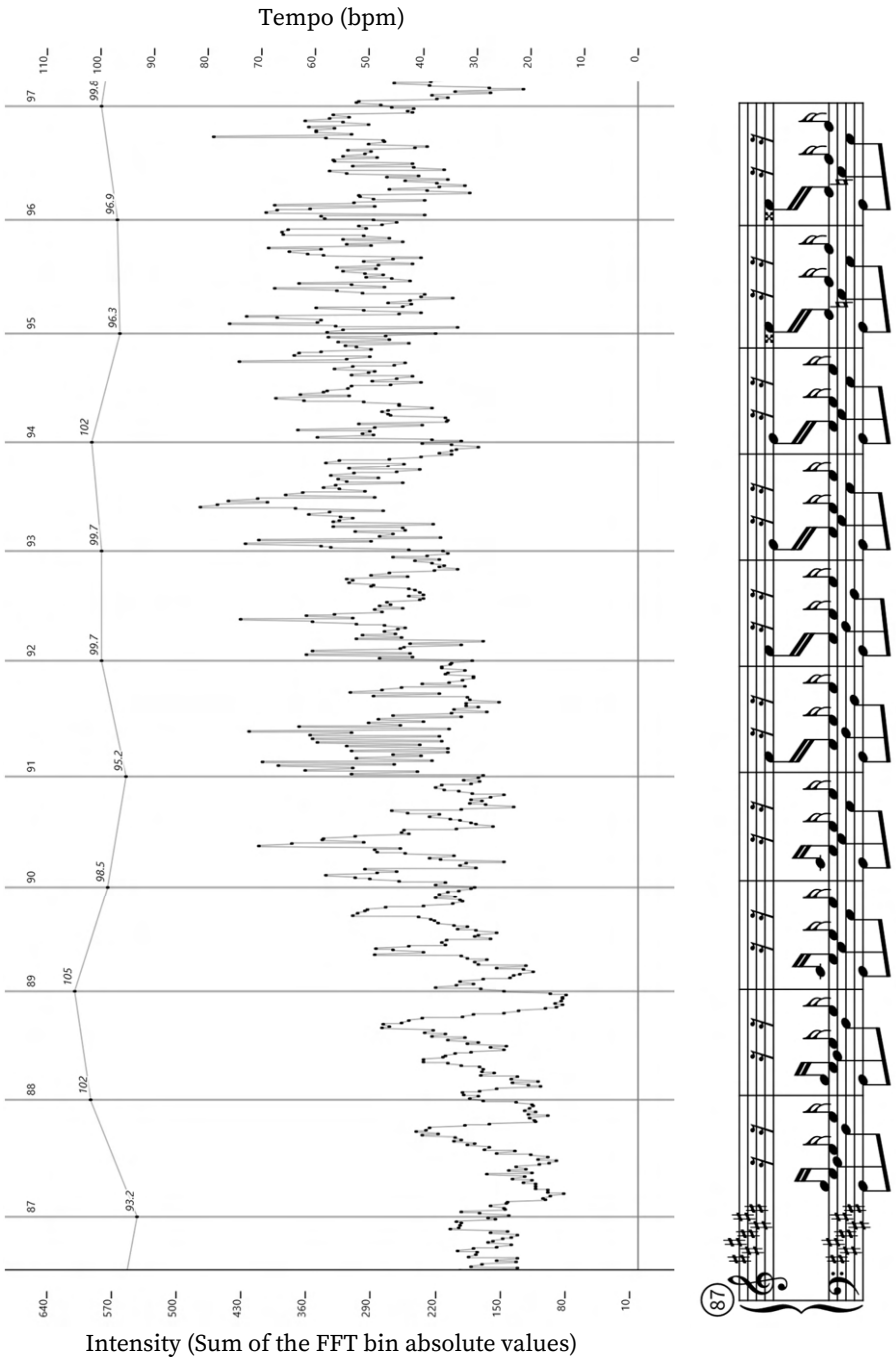

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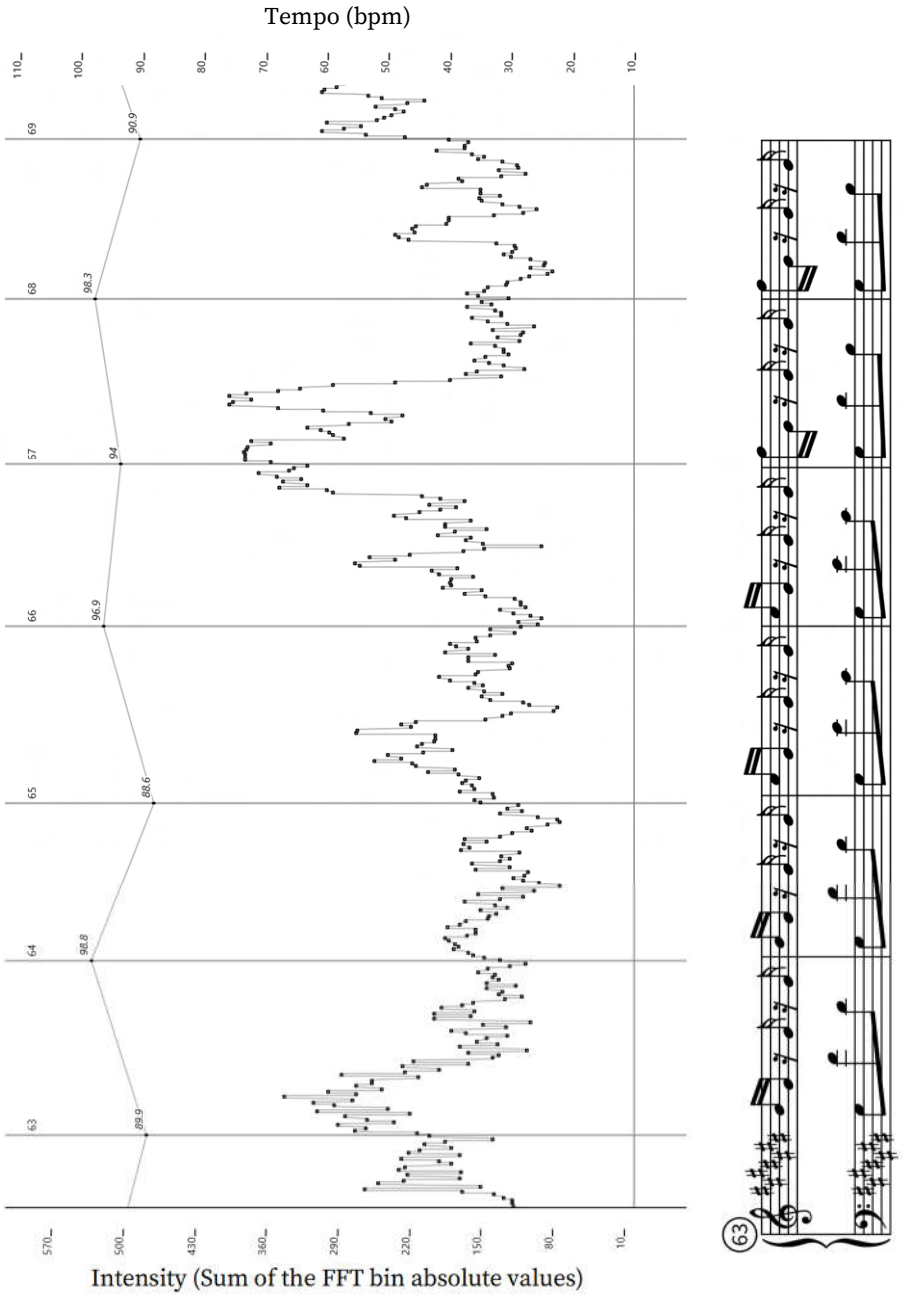
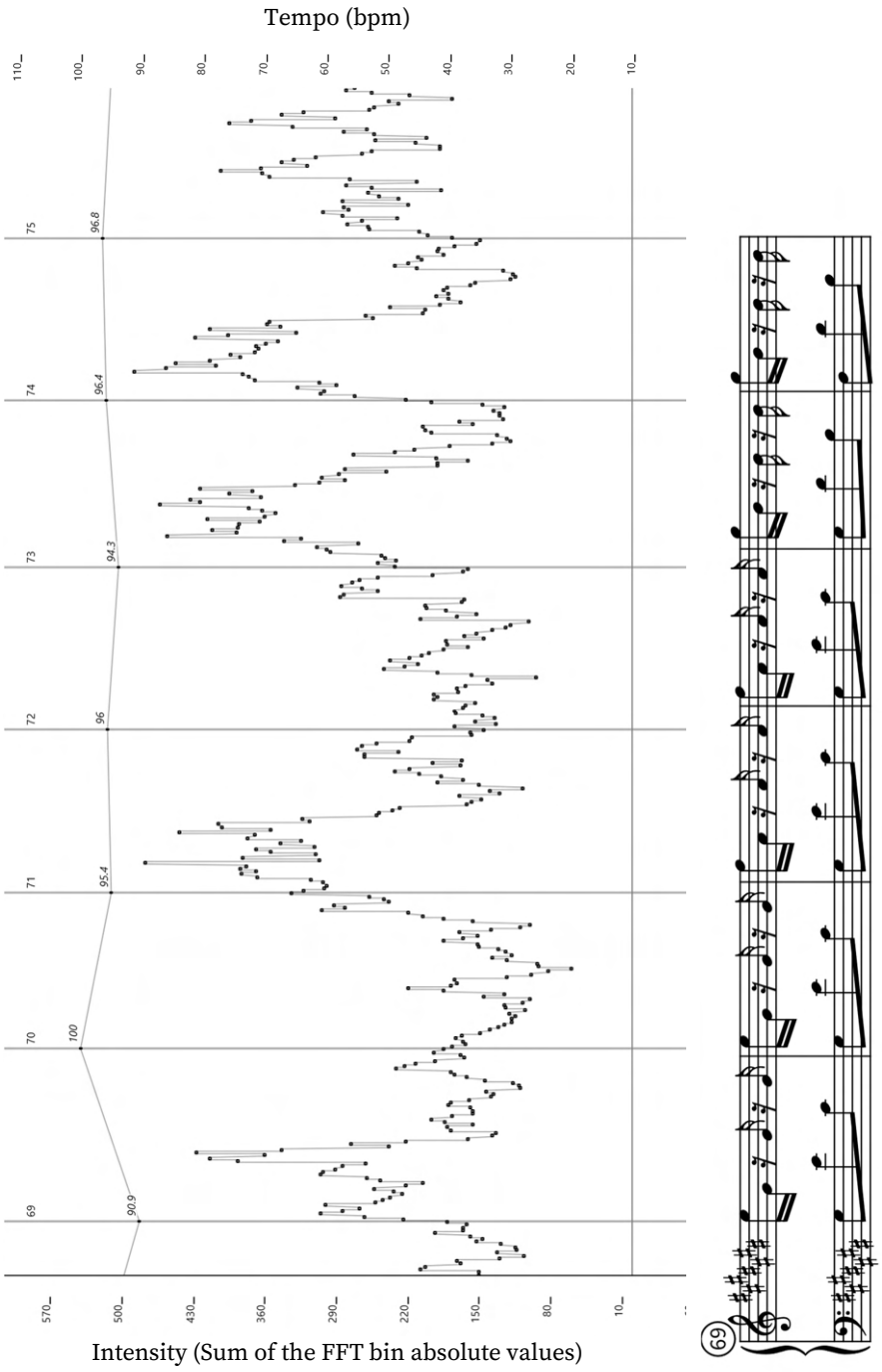


Figure A6.19. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Hess



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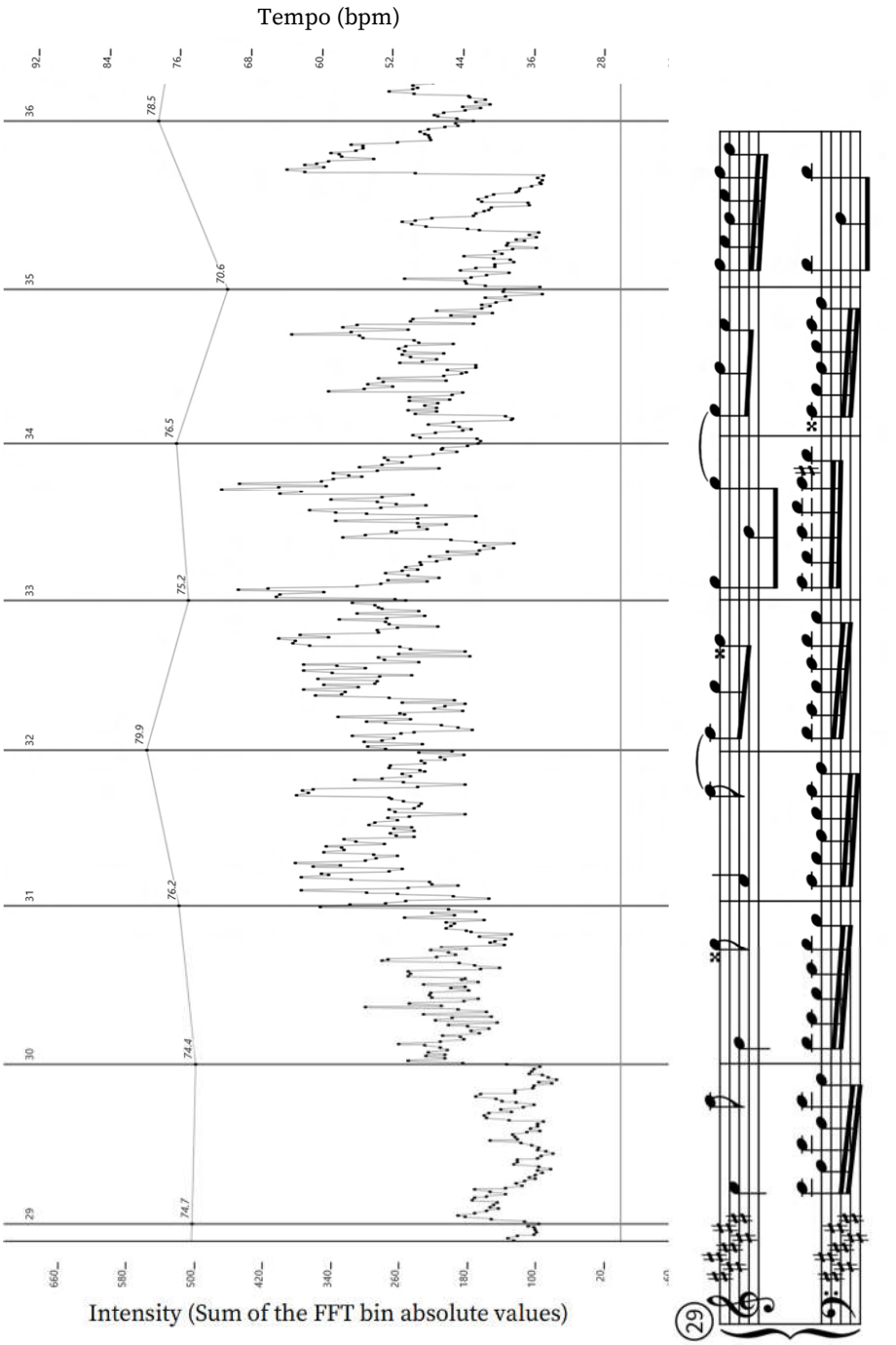
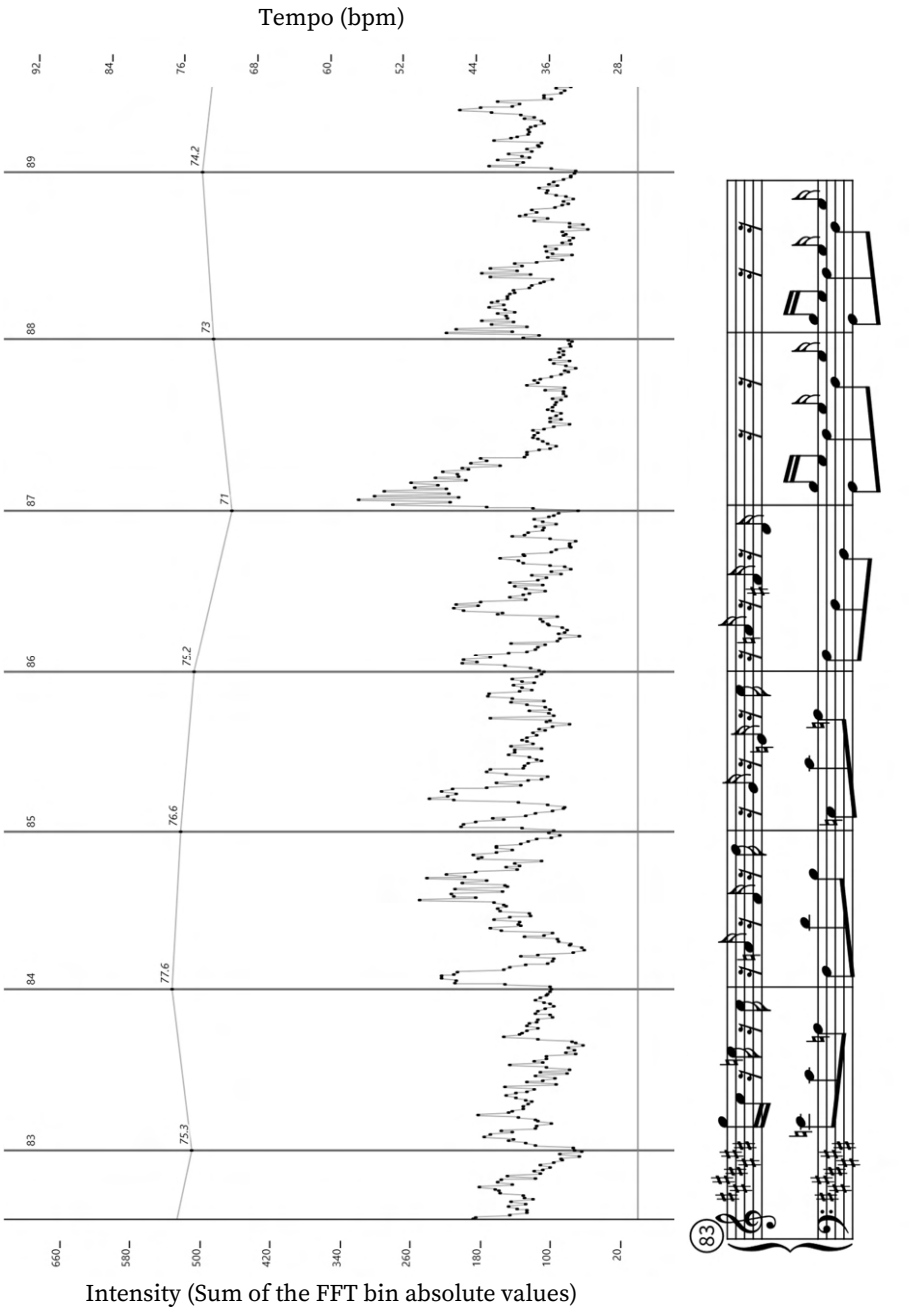


Figure A6.21. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Cohen



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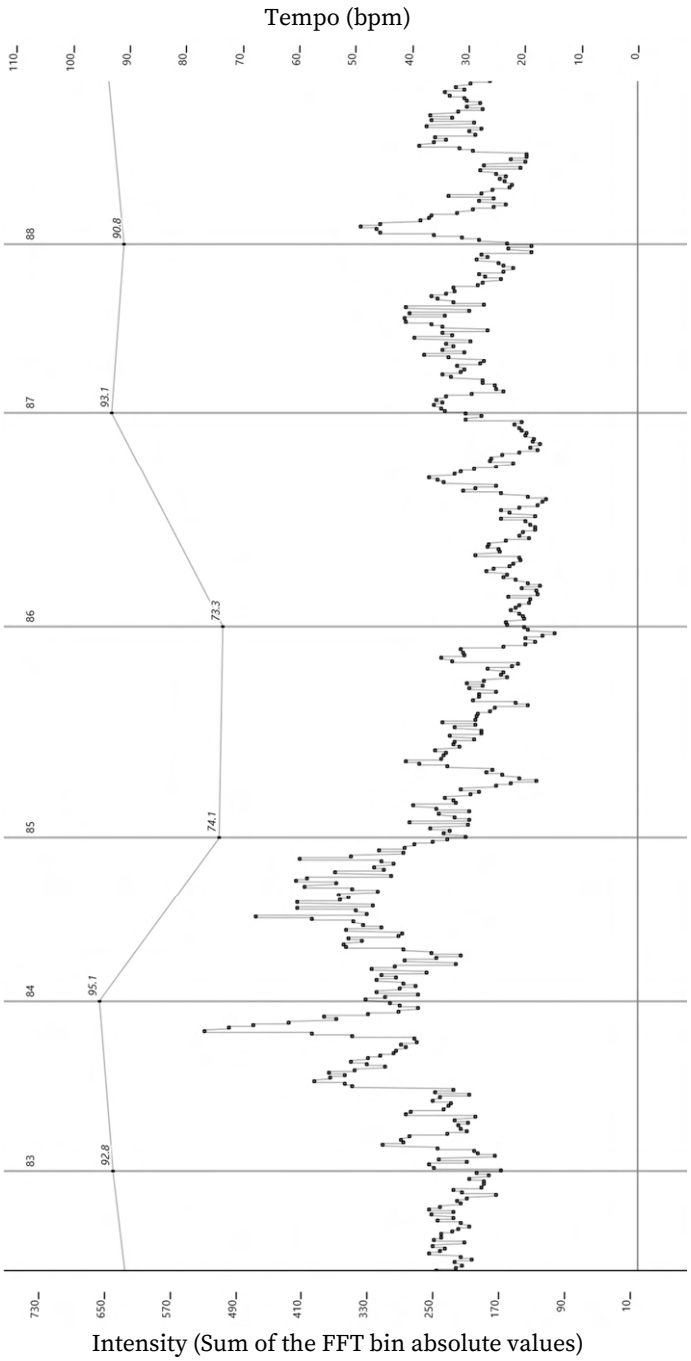


Figure A6.23. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Kempff

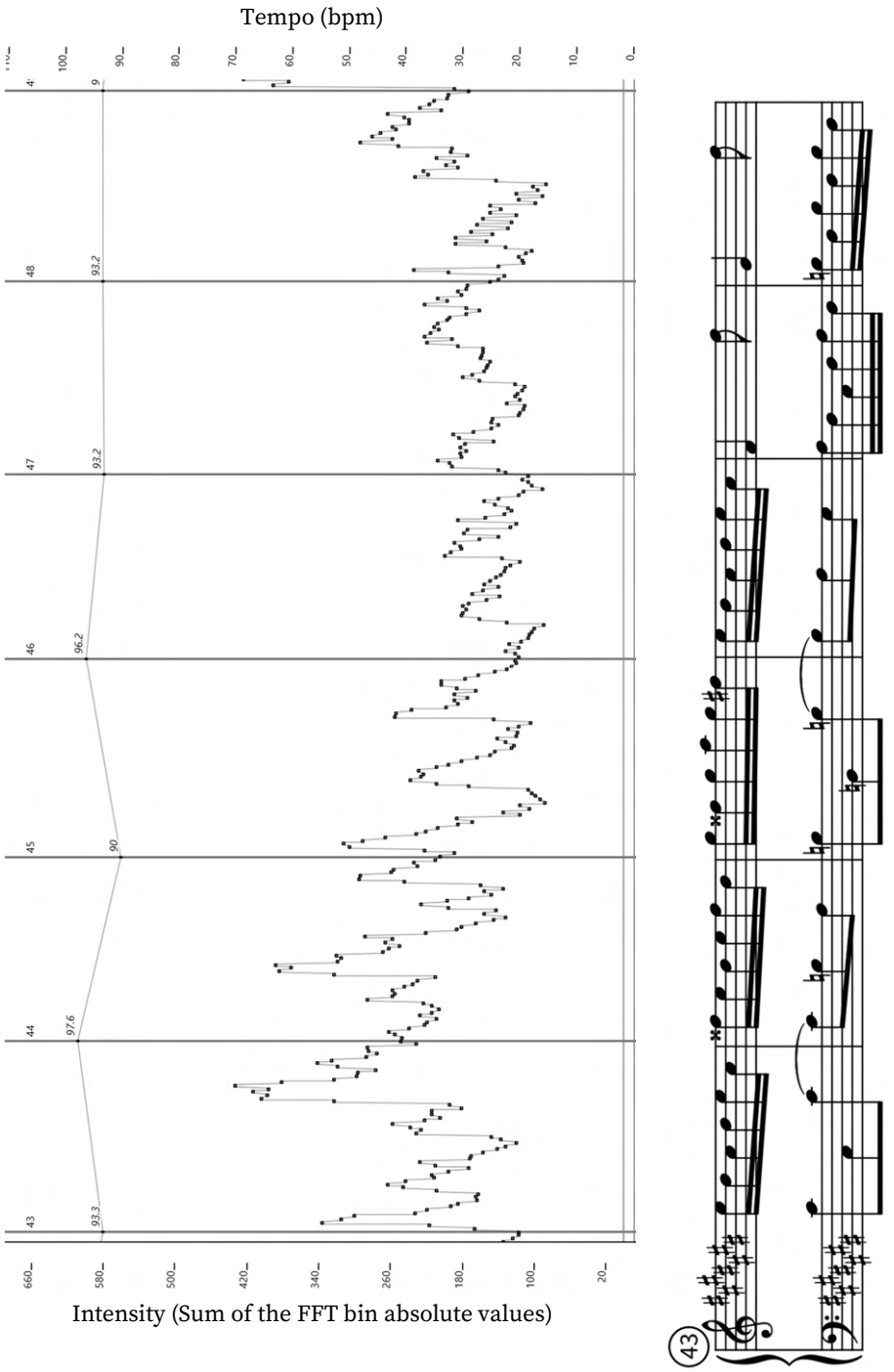
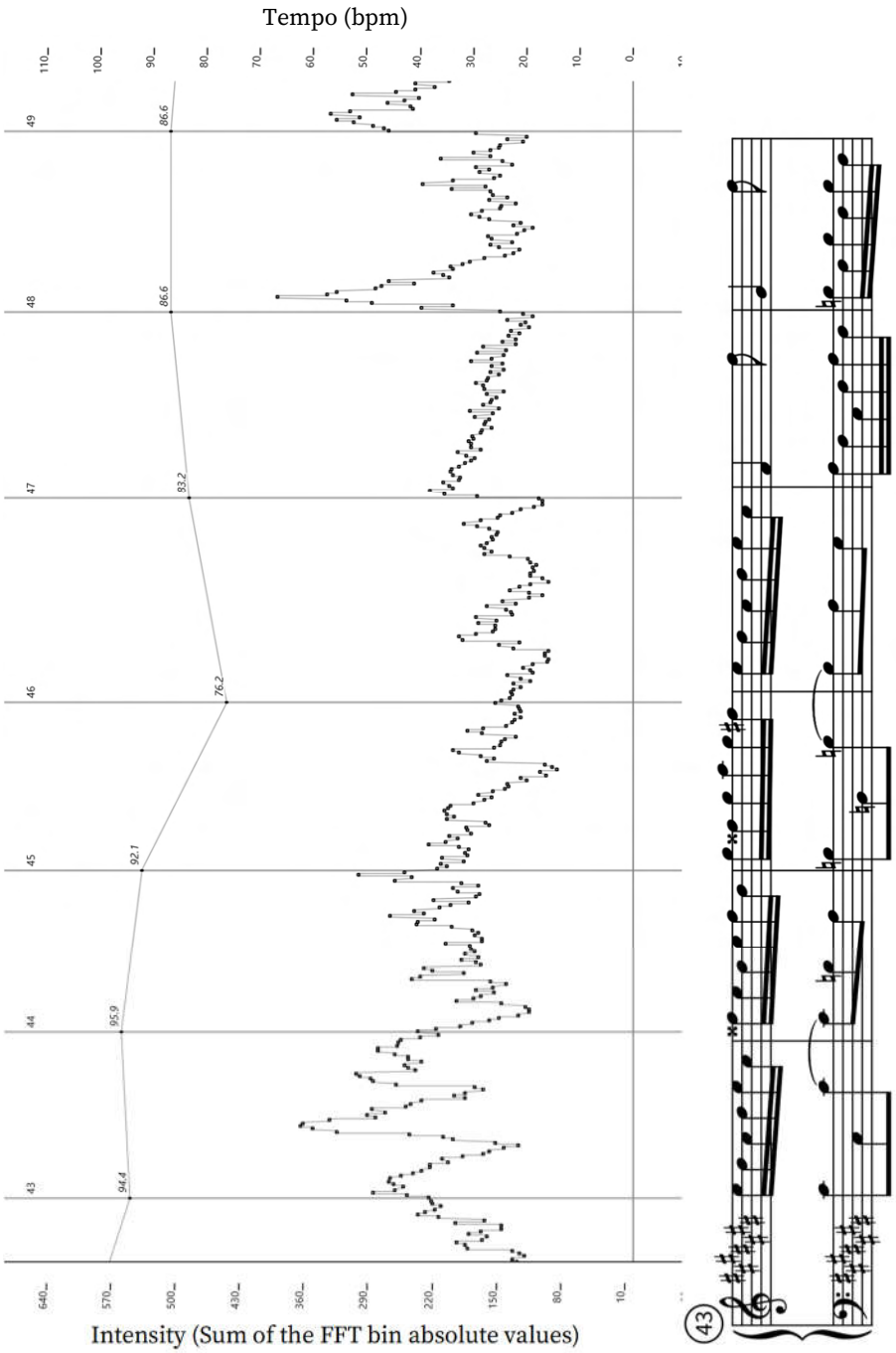


Figure A6.24. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Backhaus



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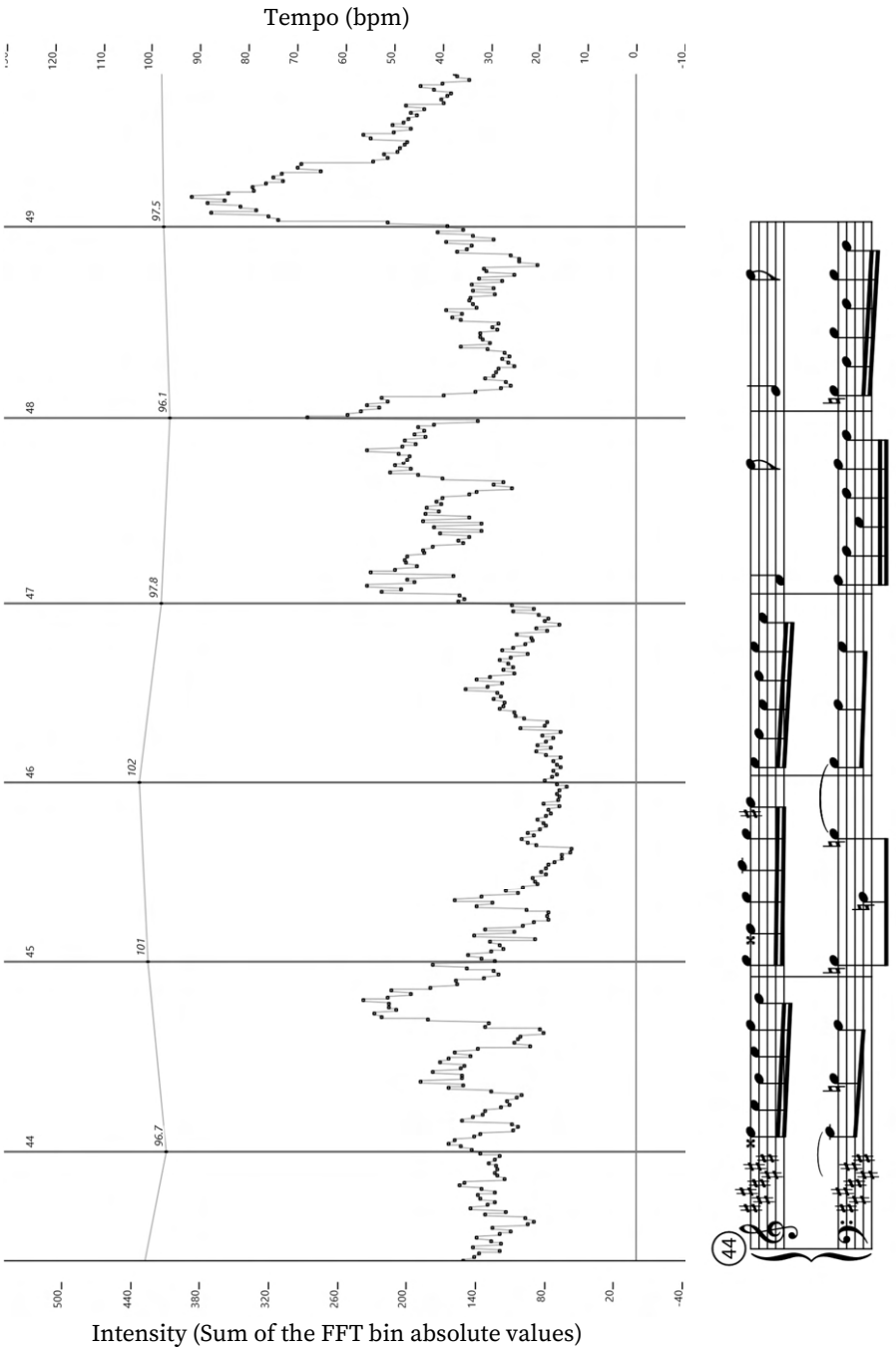
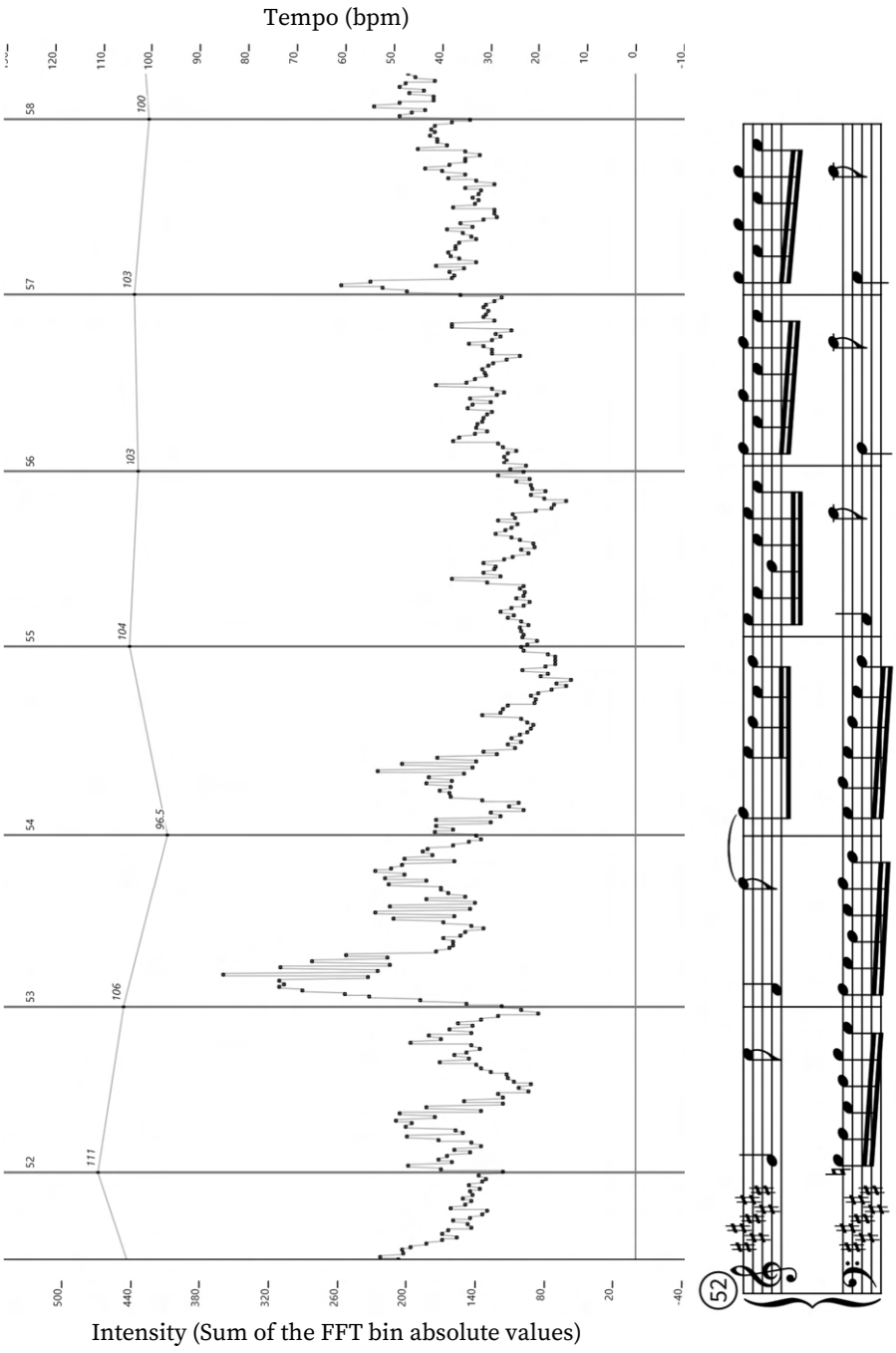


Figure A6.26. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Gieseking



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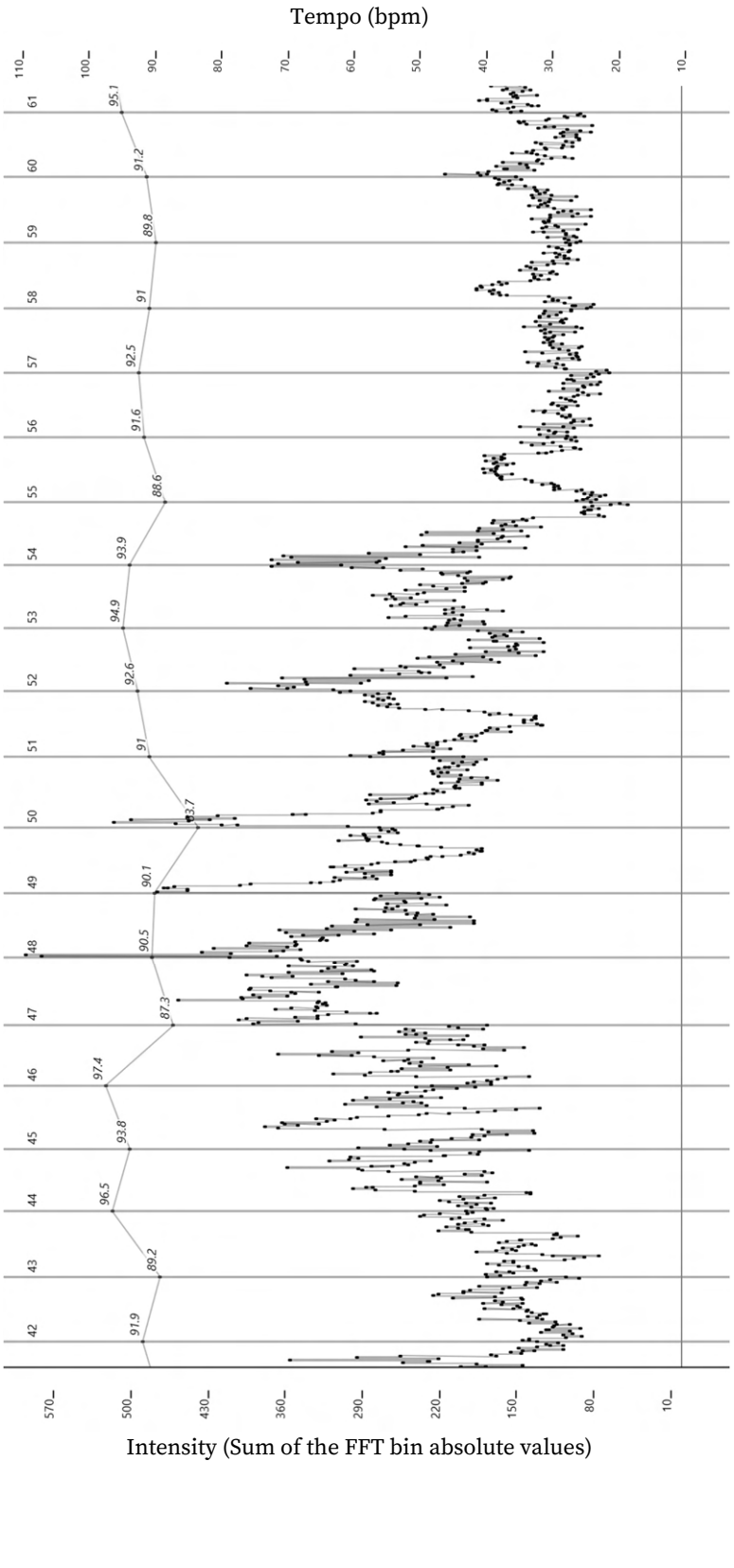


Figure A6.28. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Hess

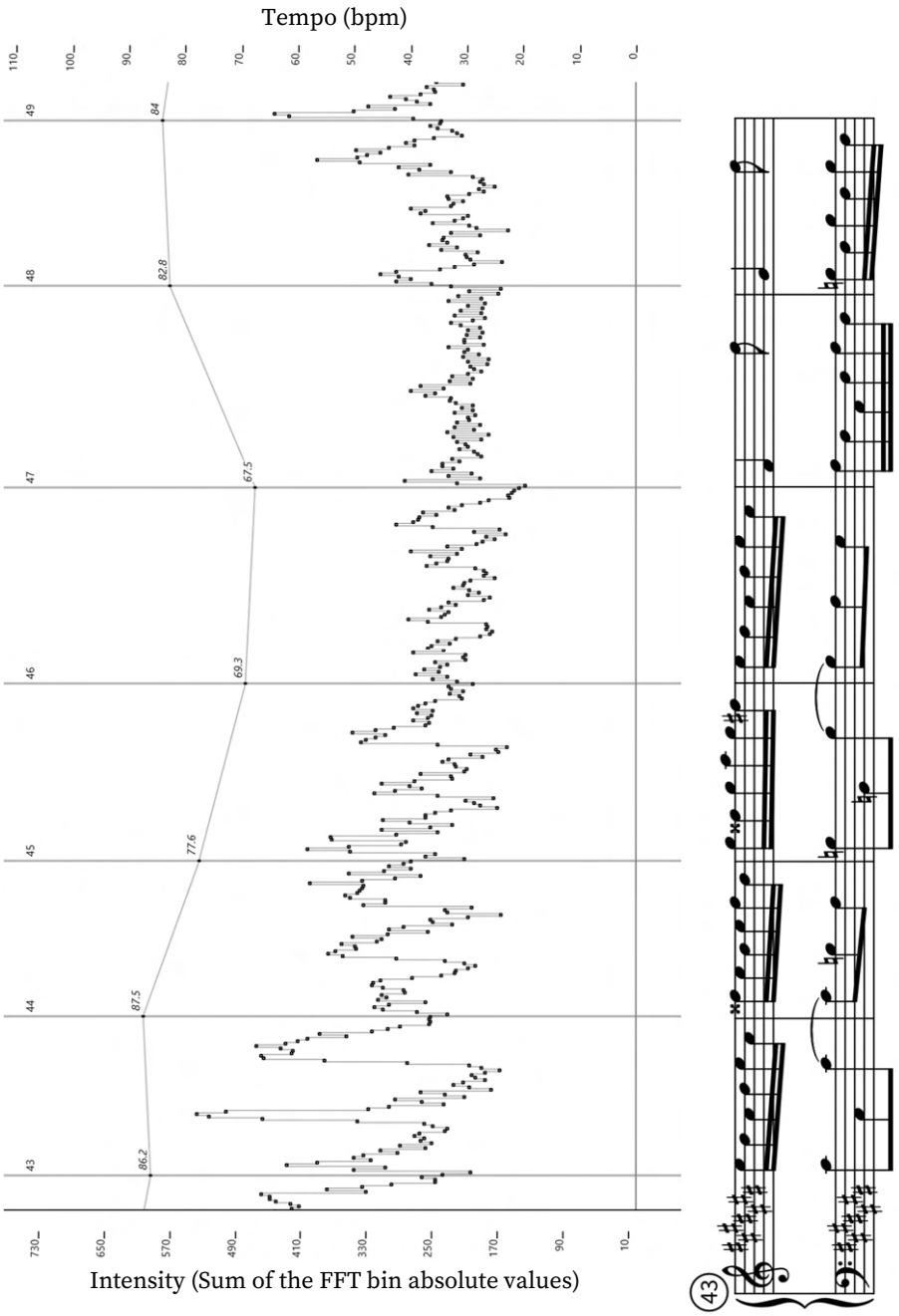


Figure A6.29. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Kempff

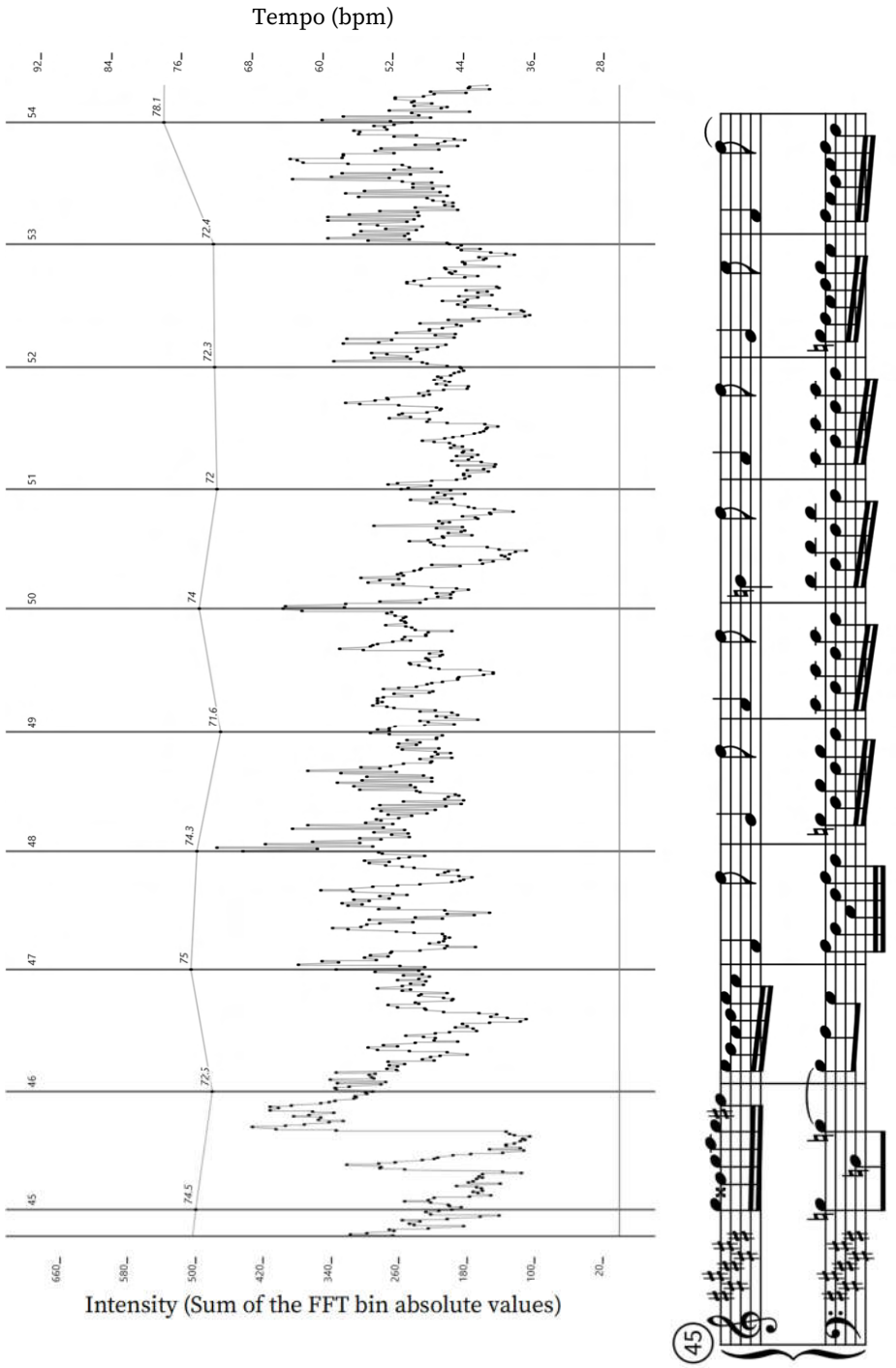


Figure A6.30. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Cohen

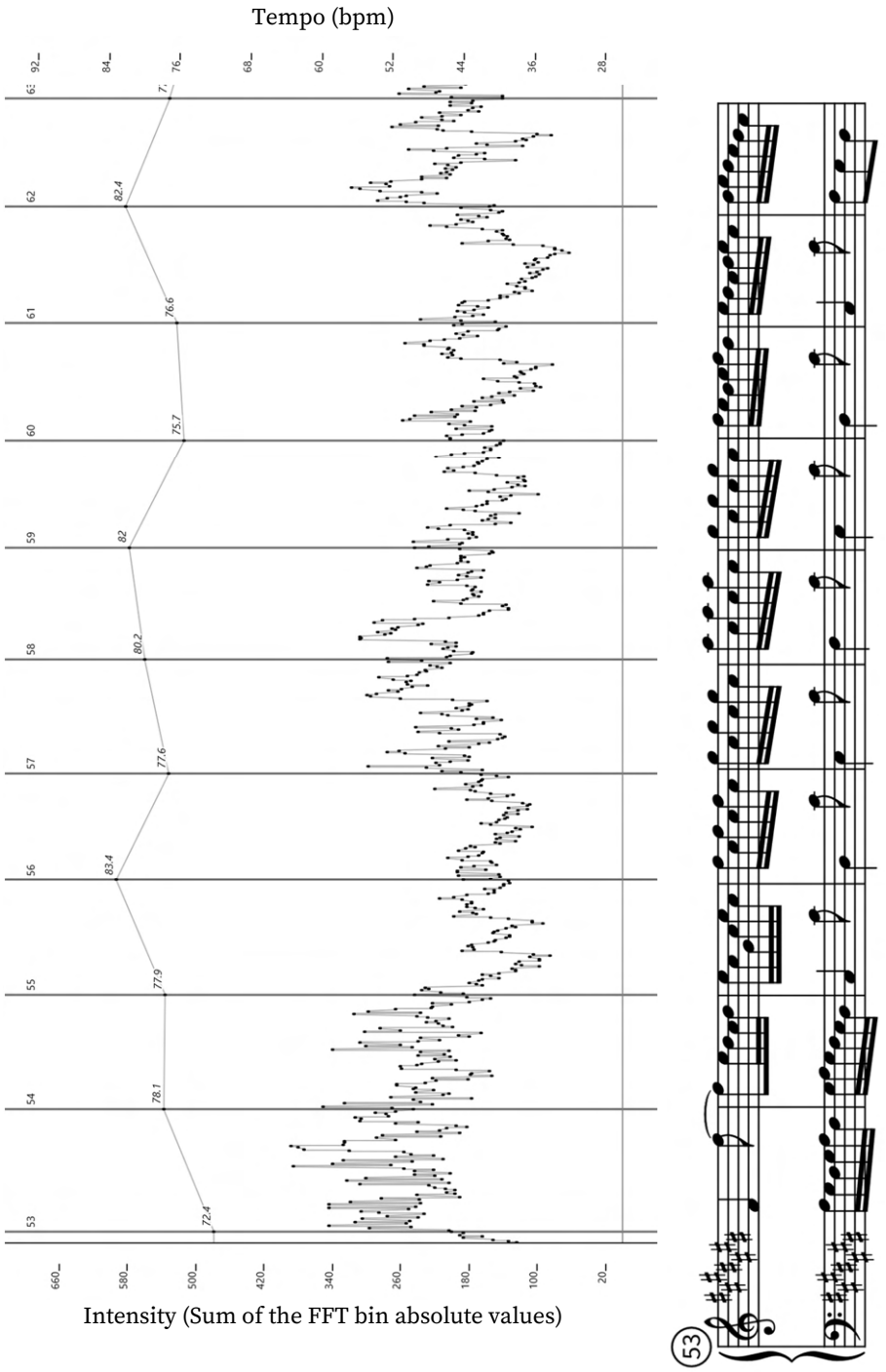


Figure A6.31. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Cohen

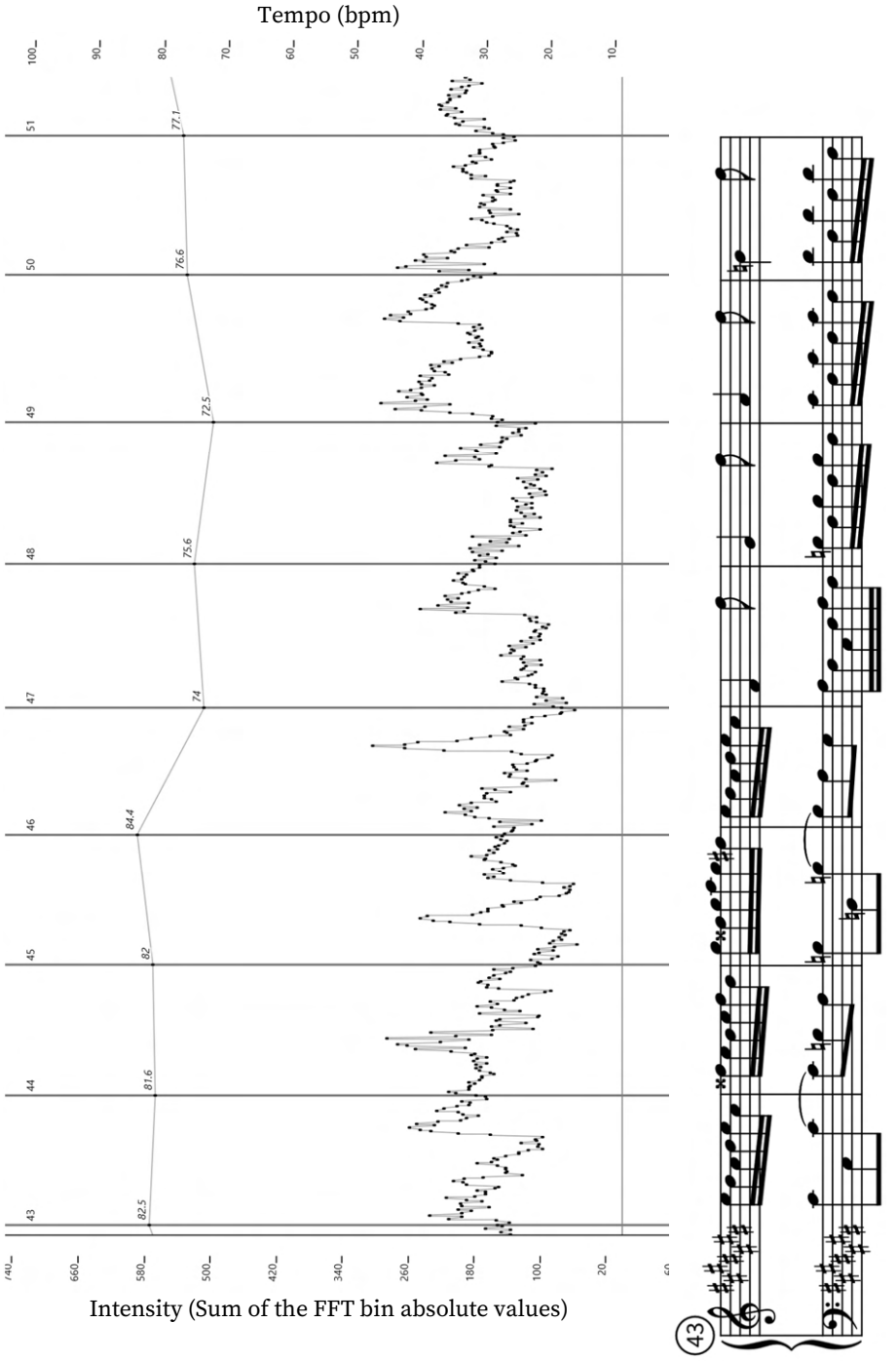


Figure A6.32. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp major (Book I): Fischer

Appendix 7. Full-Page Figures for Chapter 7

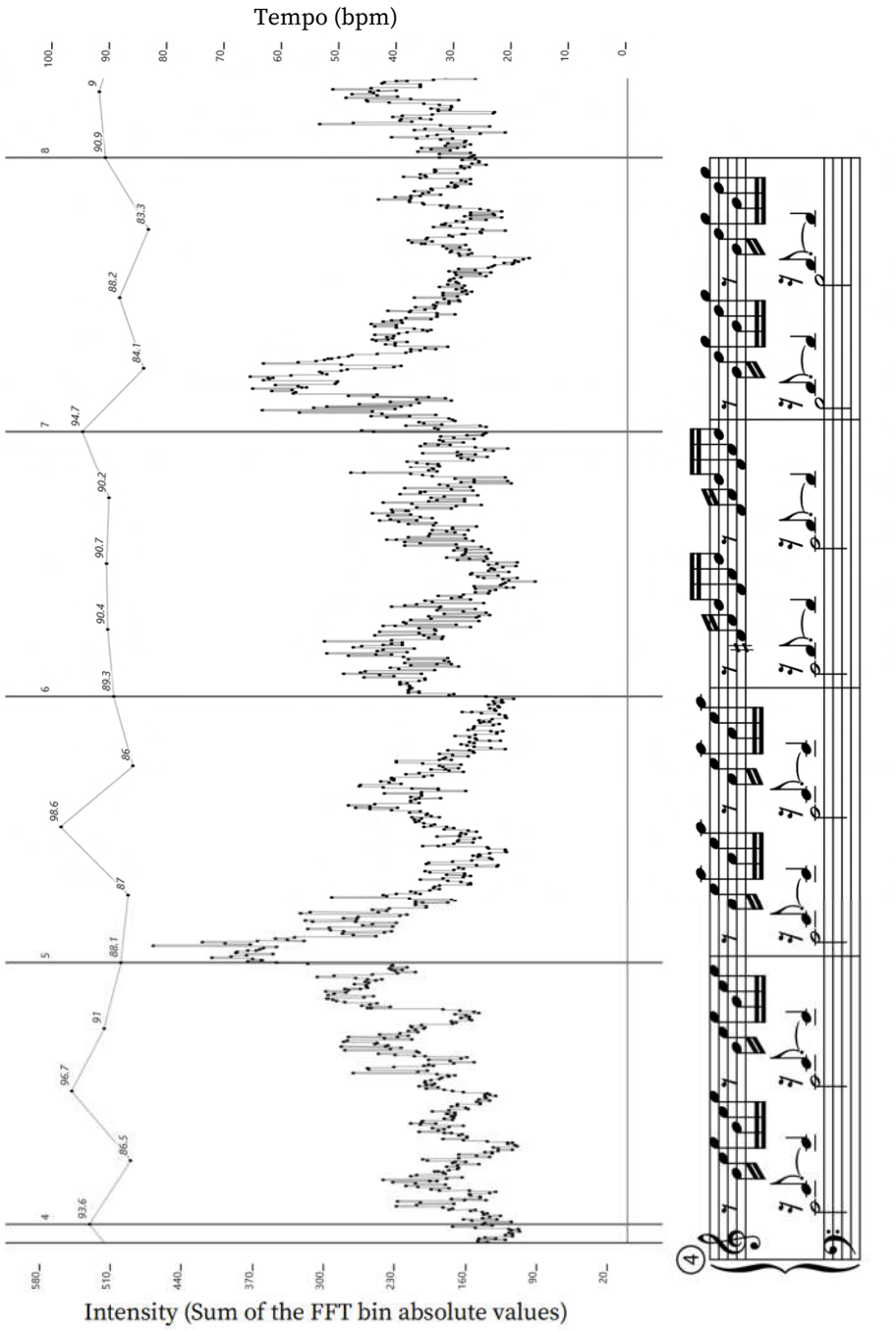


Figure A7.1. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C major (Book I): Cohen

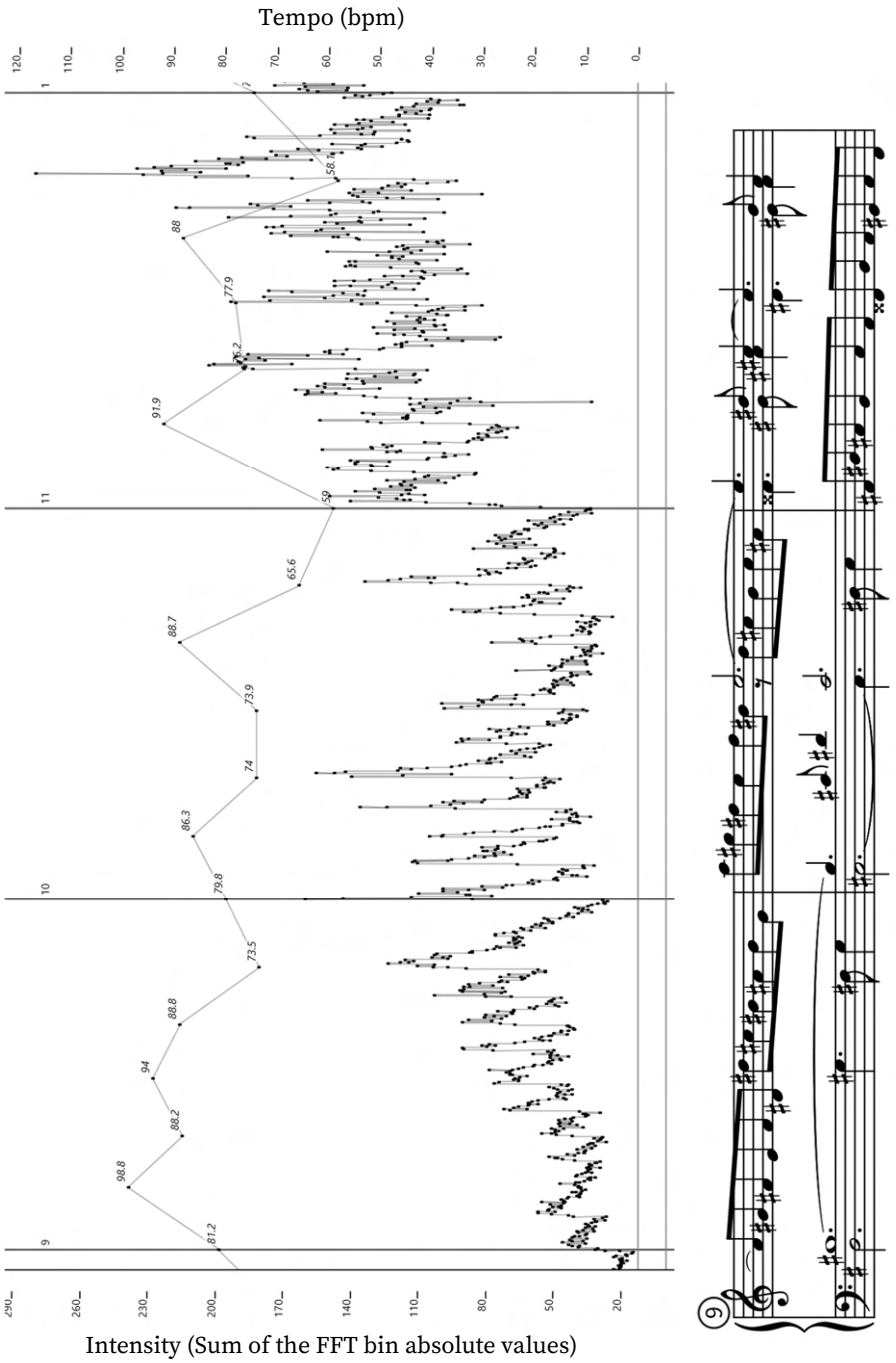


Figure A7.2. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude in C-sharp minor (Book I): Cohen

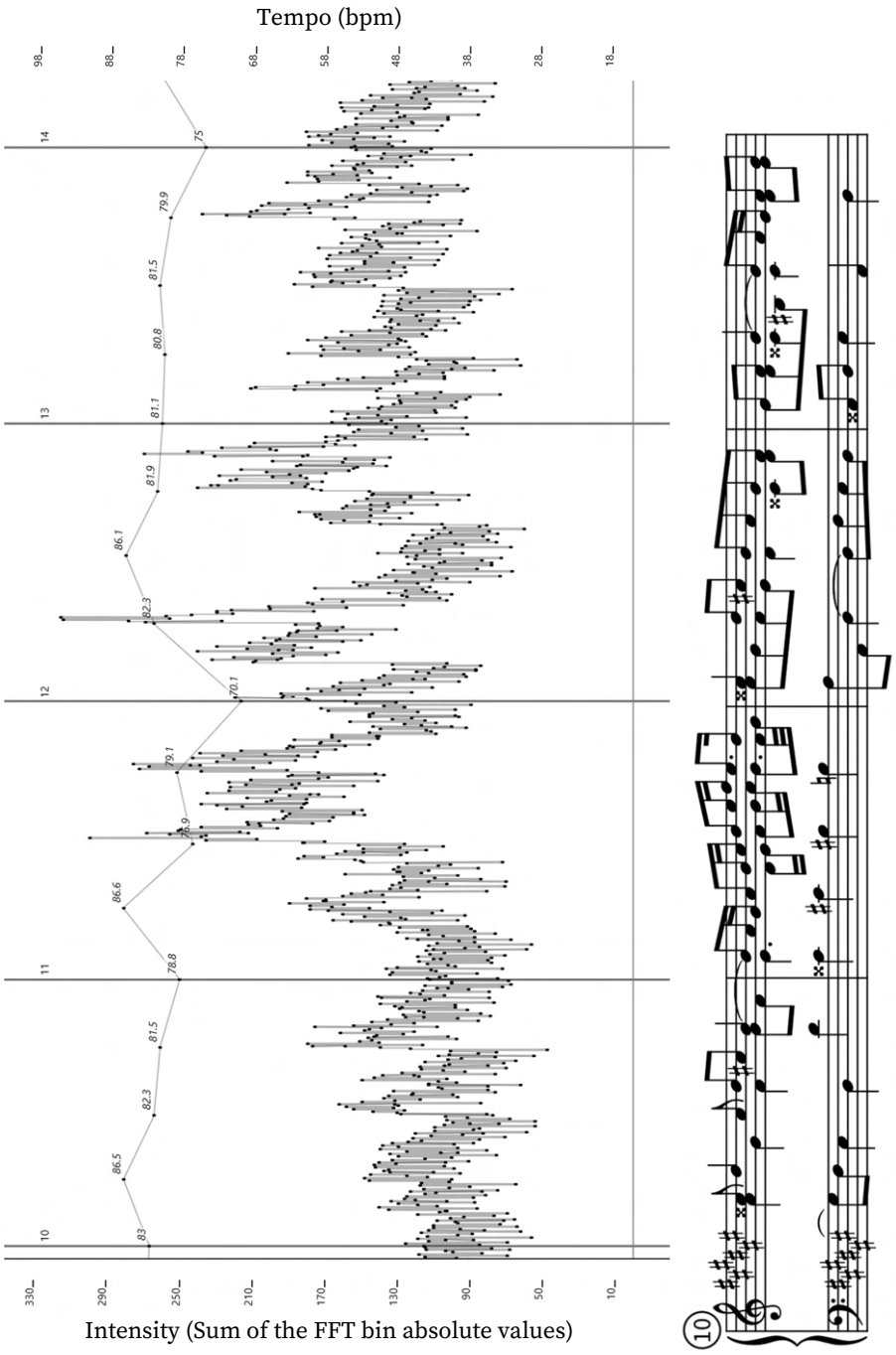


Figure A7.3. Tempo and dynamics in the Fugue in D-sharp minor (Book I): Cohen

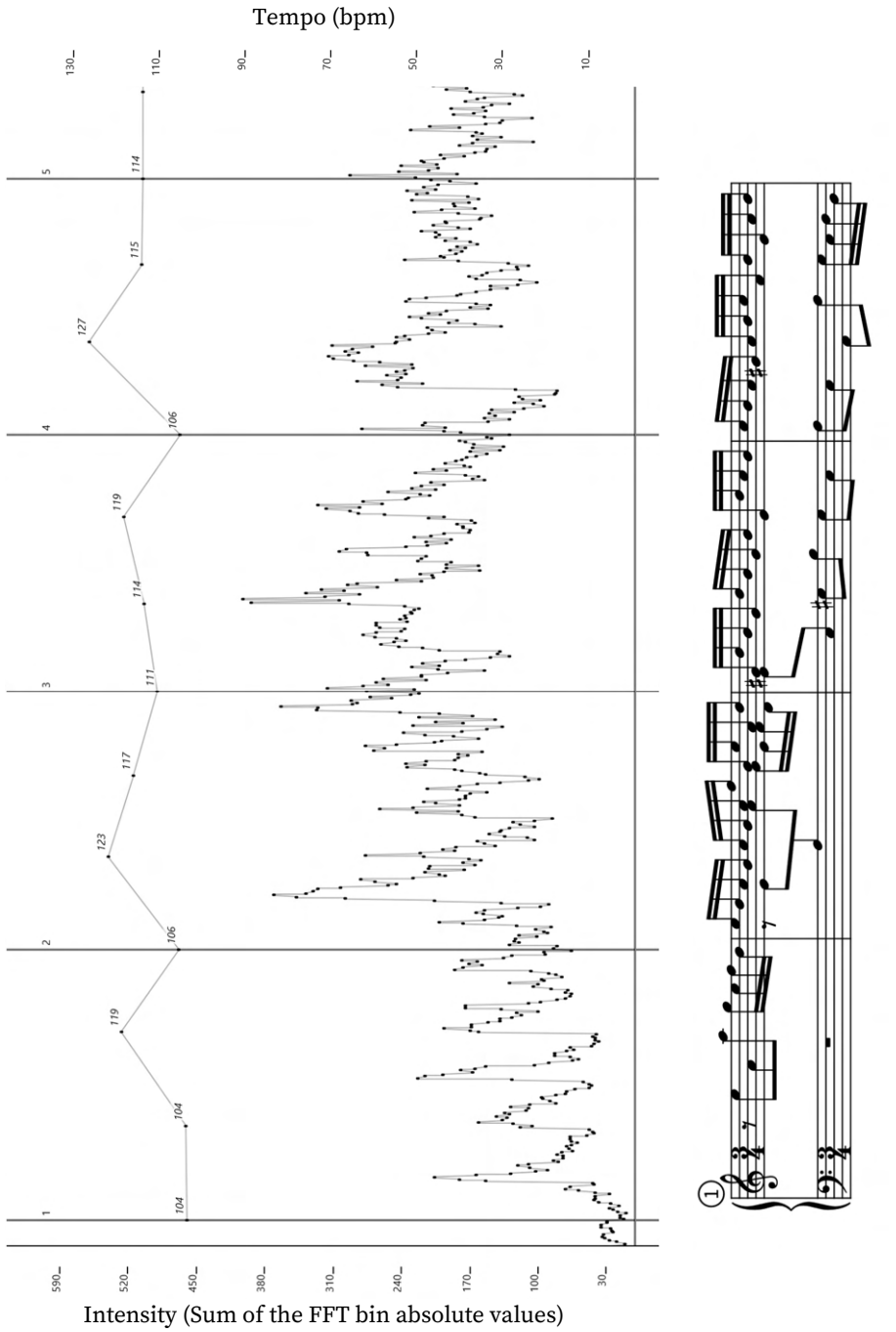
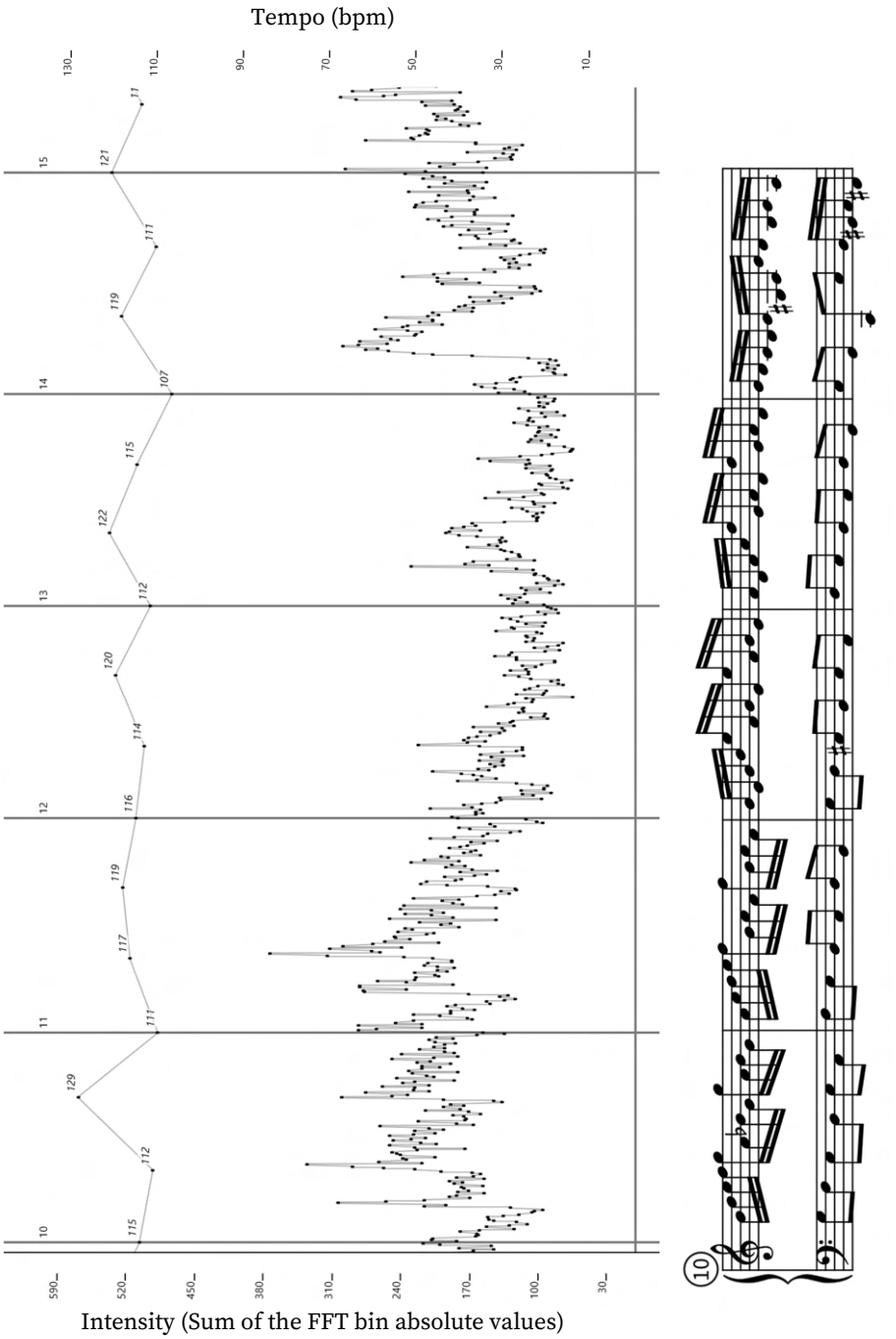


Figure A7.4. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude of the English Suite in A minor: Samuel



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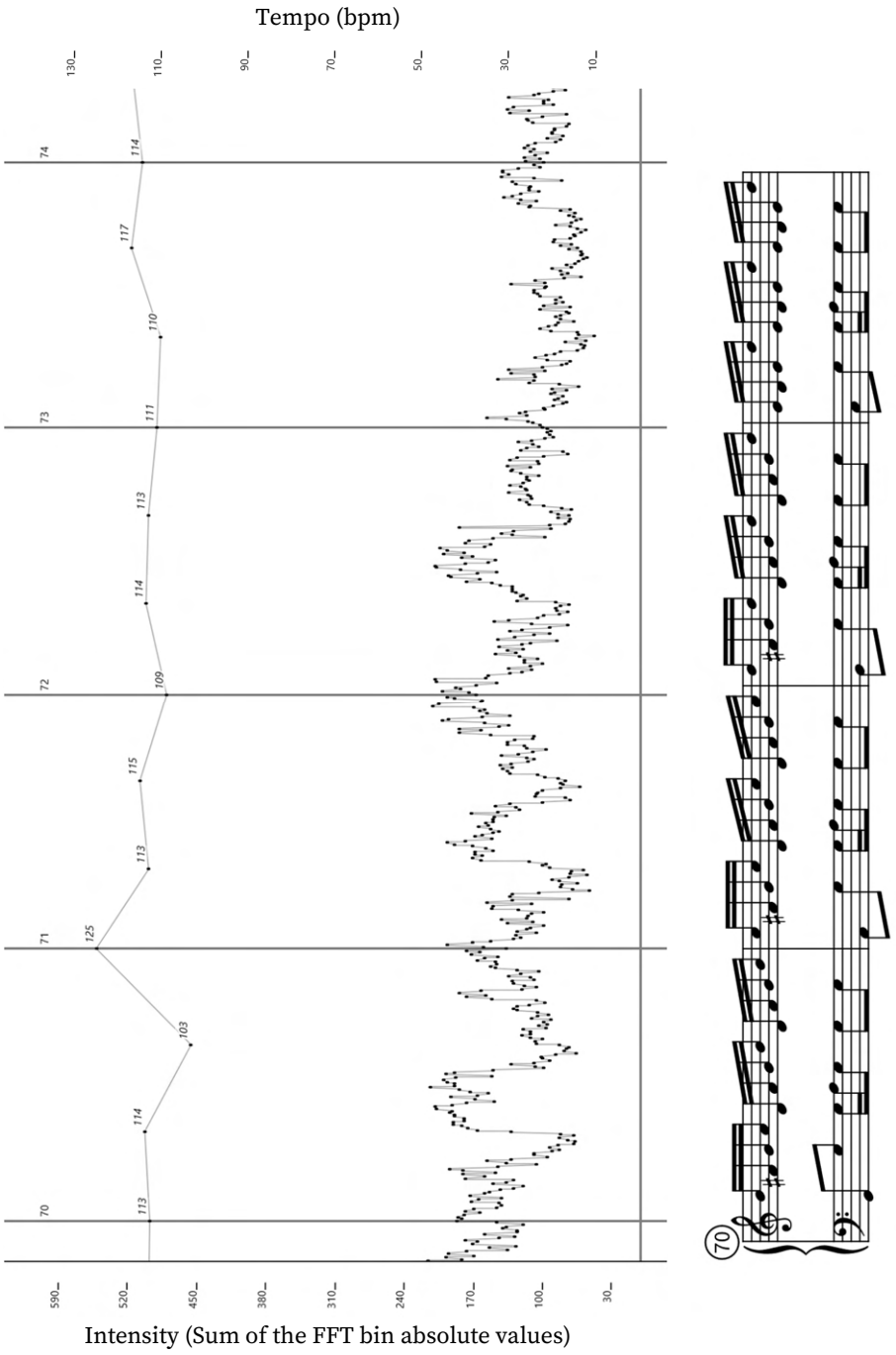

Figure A7.6. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude of the English Suite in A minor: Samuel

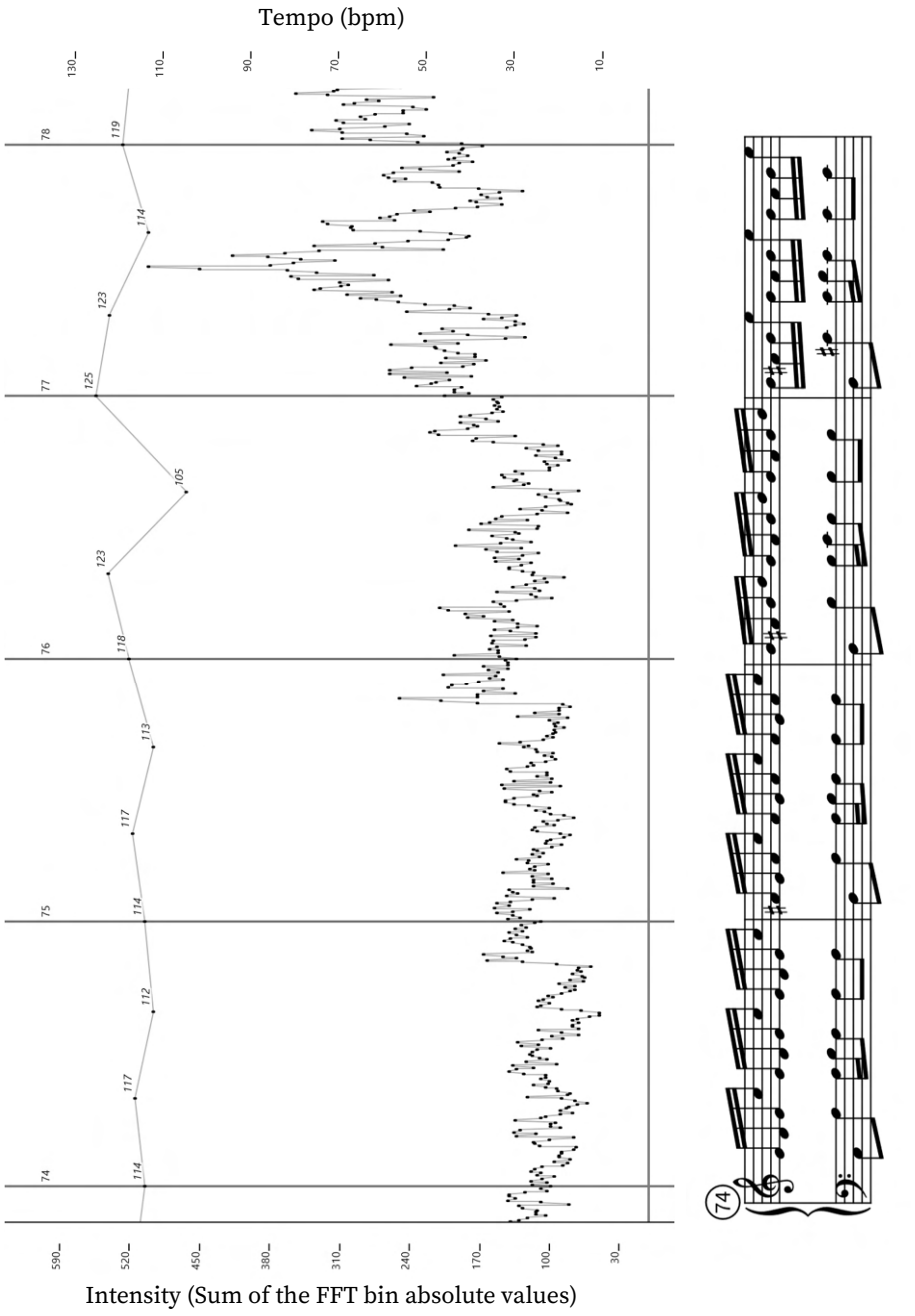

Figure A7.7. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude of the English Suite in A minor: Samuel

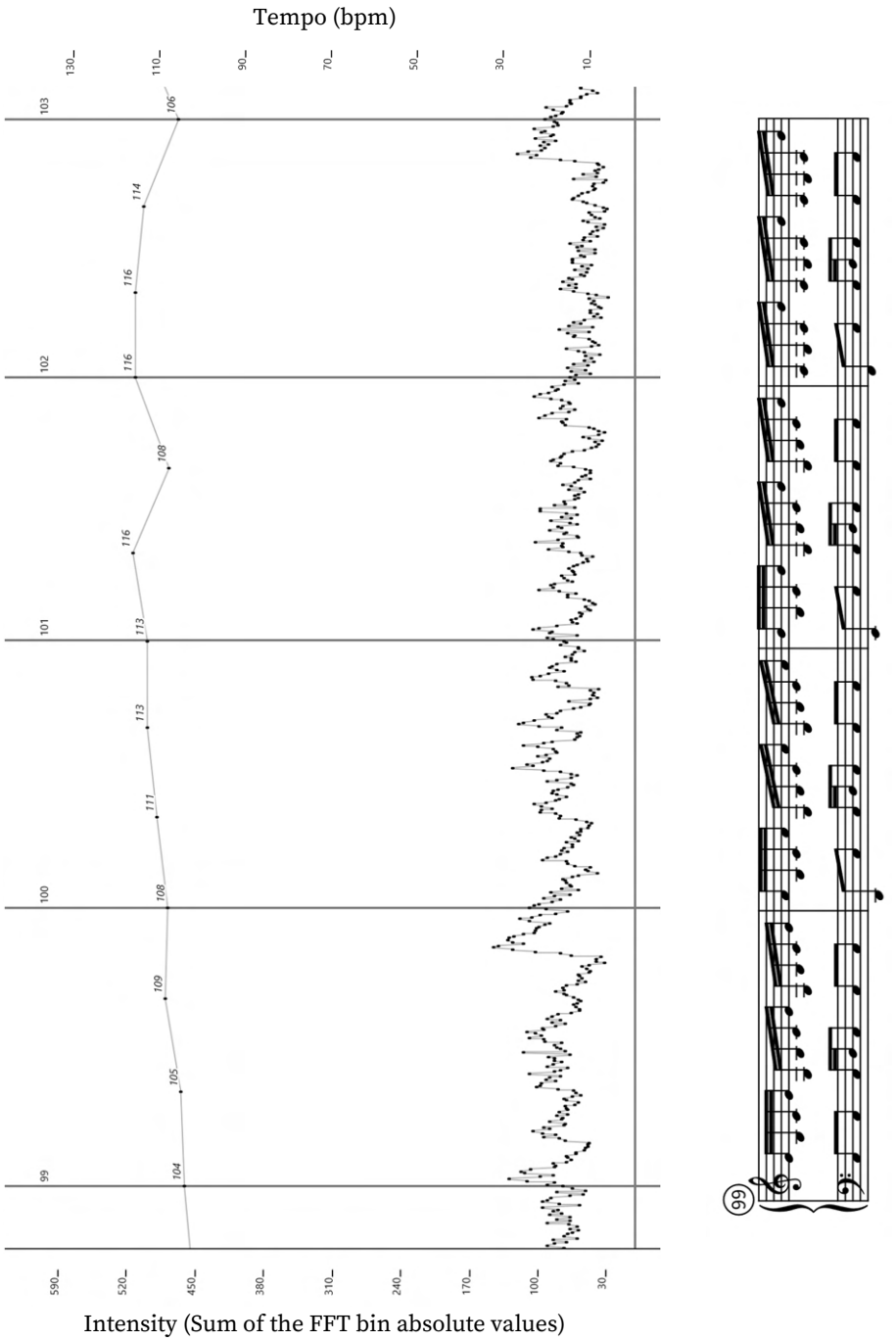

Figure A7.8. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude of the English Suite in A minor: Samuel

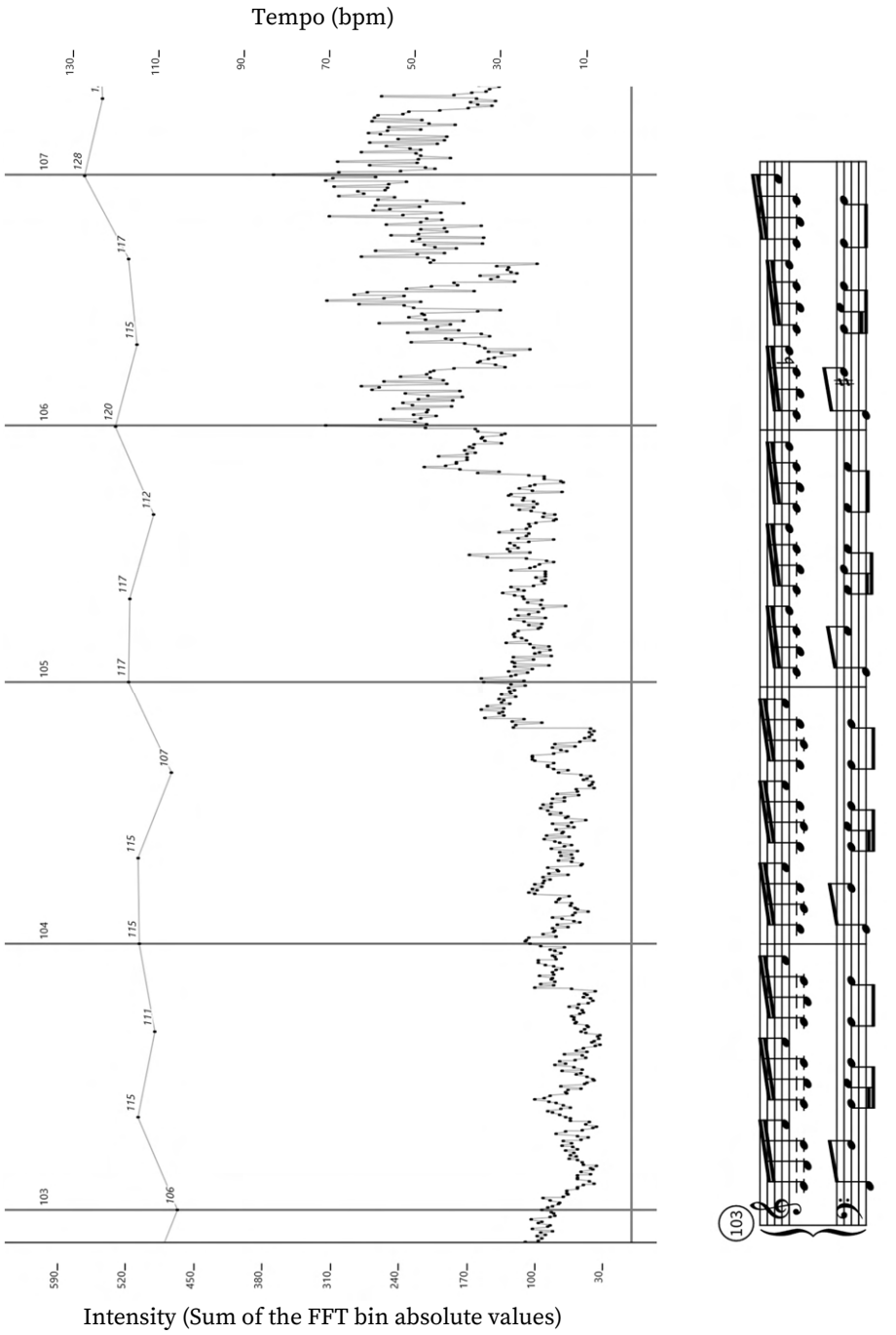

Figure A7.9. Tempo and dynamics in the Prelude of the English Suite in A minor: Samuel

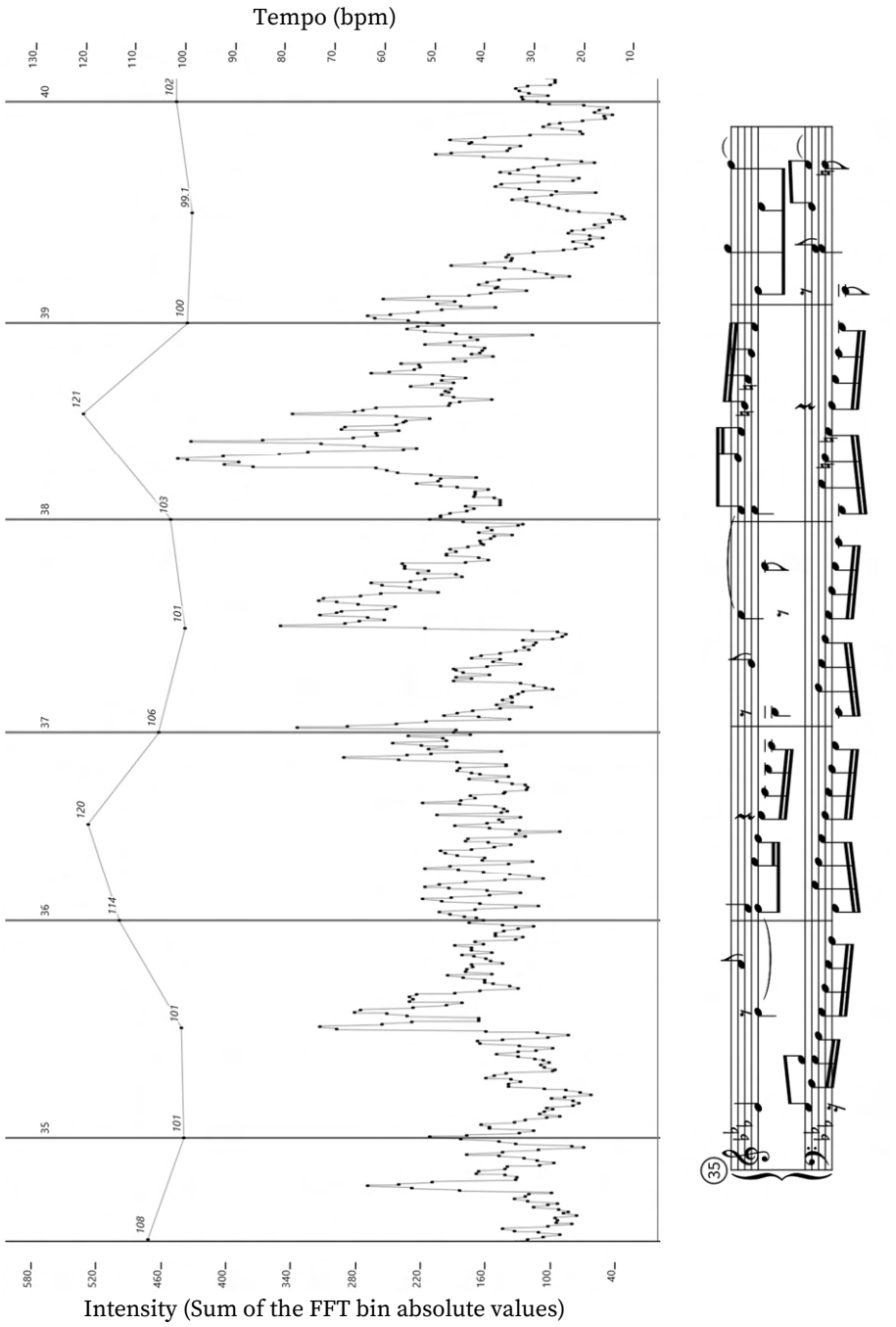

Figure A7.10. Tempo and dynamics in the Capriccio of the Partita in C minor: Samuel

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BGA: see under 'Scores'.

Bischoff: see under 'Scores'.

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Scores

BGA 3.[†] Becker, Carl Ferdinand, ed. 1853. *Joh. Seb. Bach's Clavierwerke, Erster Band: Funfzehn Inventionen und Funfzehn Symphonien; Clavierübung (Erster Theil. Sechs Partiten | Zweiter Theil. Ein Concert und eine Partita | Dritter Theil. Choralvorspiele und Duetten | Vierter Theil. Aria mit 30 Veränderungen); Toccata (Fis moll); Toccata (C moll); Fuga (A moll).* Vol. III. Bach Gesellschaft Ausgabe. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

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BGA 36. Naumann, Ernst, ed. 1890. *Joh. Seb. Bach's Clavierwerke, Vierter Band: Suiten, Toccaten, Präludien, Fugen, Fantasieen und Andere Stücke*. Vol. XXVI. Bach Gesellschaft Ausgabe. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

BGA 45-1. Dörffel, Alfred, ed. 1897. *Joh. Seb. Bach's Clavierwerke, Zweiter Band (Neue Berichtigte Ausgabe): Sechs Große Suiten, genannt Englische Suiten; Sechs Kleine Suiten, genannt Französische Suiten*. Vol. XLV. Bach Gesellschaft Ausgabe. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

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—— ed. 1924b. *J. S. Bach: Forty-Eight Preludes and Fugues, Book II*. Fingerings by Harold Samuel. London: The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music.

[†] N.B. I list the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* volumes separately for ease of reference, as they are referred to by volume number in the text.

Discography: CD Reissues

Bauer, Harold, Ignaz Friedman, Percy Grainger, Myra Hess, and Harold Samuel. *Bach*. [Duo-Art piano rolls] Recorded 1915–1929. Nimbus Records NI8808.

Busoni, Ferruccio, Egon Petri, Edward Weiss, and Michael von Zadora. *Busoni and His Pupils*. Recorded 1922–52. Naxos Historical 8.110777.

Cohen, Harriet. *Harriet Cohen: The Complete Solo Studio Recordings*. Recorded 1924–48. APR Recordings 7304.

Cohen, Harriet and Evlyn Howard-Jones. *Bach: The Well-Tempered Clavier, Book 1, Nos. 1-17 (Cohen, Jones)*. Recorded 1928-1930. Radiex Music RXC1107.

Fischer, Edwin. *J.S. Bach: The Well-Tempered Clavier*. Recorded 1933–36. EMI Classics 91951.

Gieseking, Walter (a) *The Complete Homocord Recordings and Other Rarities*. Recorded 1923–56. APR Recordings 6013.

—— (b) *J.S. Bach: Partitas Nos. 1, 5, and 6, Italian Concerto; Beethoven: Piano Sonata No. 17*. Recorded 1931–40. Naxos Historical 8.111353.

—— (c) *J.S. Bach: The Six Partitas and other Keyboard Works.* Recorded 1945–50. Music and Arts Program of America 0947.

—— (d) *The Complete Bach Recordings on Deutsche Grammophon*. Recorded 1950. Deutsche Grammophon 0289 479 7362 1.

Grünfeld, Alfred. *Alfred Grünfeld: The First Pianist of Note to Have Made Recordings*. Recorded 1899–1914. Opal 9850.

Hess, Myra (a). *Myra Hess: The Complete Solo and Concerto Recordings*. Recorded 1928–57. APR Recordings 7504.

—— (b) *Hess: Beethoven Piano Concerto No. 2; Schumann Piano Concerto in A minor; Bach Toccata in G major BWV 916*. Recorded 1950–60. BBC Legends 4178-2.

—— (c) *Hess: Bach Prelude in G major BWV 902, English Suite No. 2 in A major [sic] BWV 807; Haydn Piano Sonata No. 62 in E-flat major; Schumann Carnaval Op. 9*. Recorded 1950–62. BBC Legends 4201-2.

Petri, Egon. *Egon Petri, Volume I: Gluck, Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Liszt, Brahms*. Recorded 1929–1951. Pearl 9916.

Samuel, Harold. *The Art of Harold Samuel*. Recorded 1923–35. Koch 3-7137-2 K2.

Scharrer, Irene. *Irene Scharrer: The Compete Electric and Selected Acoustic Recordings*. Recorded 1915–33. APR Recordings 6010.

Selva, Blanche. *Les Enregistrements Columbia 1929–30.* Recorded 1929–30. Solstice 351-2.

Streaming Links

These links refer to the recordings examined in Chapters 6 and 7.

Wilhelm Backhaus:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G5GKOLa4XGY

Harriet Cohen:
https://open.spotify.com/album/21CAEb8jrYPaoPe4DU92nP
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zCeG10ZFxww

Edwin Fischer:
https://open.spotify.com/album/2fjqodlPmjauRUKKF5675J

Walter Gieseking:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SfKW_ETxXsg
https://open.spotify.com/album/1T3YA5Yan4RjZO3Ry9Z73j

Myra Hess:
https://open.spotify.com/album/3933aIFzjFiTQ7NL62ameS

Evlyn Howard-Jones
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00dxgLbw8jU

Wilhelm Kempff:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=32Lxv-FBsuU

Harold Samuel:
https://open.spotify.com/album/7kCZo8Tfpqg6Ao9Hbfgjc0?si=Gy3PCoSSSBqbrMi_9_Kpxw&dl_branch=1
https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL4hNUizEyQhxIyOopQFC8apCEeXAfHkP7
N.B. Sadly, it appears that the Prelude and Fugue in C major from Book I is no longer available through online streaming services. Perseverance with one's search engine may, however, eventually yield some results, although these may be of dubious legality.

Irene Scharrer:
https://open.spotify.com/album/68mT6DHpZllqmxtYVpb1JH